

JPRS-UPA-90-018

4 APRIL 1990



**FOREIGN
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JPRS Report

Soviet Union

Political Affairs

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 3

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
NATIONAL TECHNICAL INFORMATION SERVICE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A

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Distribution Unlimited

19980123 153

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Belorussian Communist Party Budget Analyzed

*90UN1282A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 22 Feb 90 p 3*

[Report of V.L. Pavlyukevich, manager of affairs of the Belorussian CP Central Committee: "The Party Budget: Income and Expenses"]

[Text] As has already been reported in the press, Ye.Ye. Sokolov, Belorussian CP Central Committee first secretary, in responding to the question why nothing is being reported on the Belorussian Communist Party budget, on how it is formulated and what the party resources are spent on, said that the appropriate publication was being prepared, and suggested following the press.

The Belorussian telegraph agency offers for the readers' attention material received from V.L. Pavlyukevich, manager of affairs of the Belorussian CP Central Committee.

The main source of Belorussian Communist Party budget is party membership dues. In 1989, they totaled R55.7 million.

The financing of over 99 percent of the budget's expenditures is provided by the membership dues; the remaining portion of R.3 million comes from other revenue (from the realization of buildings sold to the national economy, motor vehicles, and possessions which have been written off, leasing payments for the use of dormitories for courses and viewing auditoriums of political education buildings).

Expenses for all directions of the party committees' organizational and political activity totalled R56 million.

Of the total sum of expenditures, R32.2 million was used for the maintenance of party committees and workers released from primary party organizations; R2.3 million was used for party propaganda; R7.9 million for management expenses, including building maintenance, computer acquisition and inventory, and the maintenance of service vehicles; R2.8 million for cadre training in the Minsk Higher Party School, and for requalification courses, and R.4 million for maintaining the Institute of Party History, the Museum-House of the 1st RSDRP [Russian Social-Democratic Workers Party] Congress, and the party archives.

It should be noted that each of these amounts was less than that stipulated by the party budget and confirmed by the CPSU Central Committee. A portion of the resources saved remained at the disposal of the Belorussian Communist Party.

For the first time, the budget provides for expenses within 3 percent of the sum of the dues submitted for the needs of the primary party organizations. According to territorial party organizations, R1.6 million was provided for these purposes in the 1989 plan, but only R.8 million was utilized in the provinces.

In light of this, the reader should be reminded that these resources are disbursed from the party gorkom or

raykom till to the party organization secretary and are used at the decision of the party buro or meeting of communists to conduct mass political work, the encouragement of unreleased party activists, and assisting communists, party veterans, visiting patients, the aged, acquiring office belongings, etc. Funds for the primary party organization needs for 1989 are reserved in local party committees, are on their balances, and at the request of the primary party organization secretaries, can be disbursed in 1990.

A total of R14.4 million is spent upon the maintenance of released staffers in the primary party organizations, their training, and holding seminars in the republic.

A total of R10.6 million was spent on construction of party organ facilities and party publishing houses, the reconstruction and repair of premises. By comparison to 1988, expenses for these purposes were reduced by R4.8 million. In accordance with the order of the Belorussian CP Central Committee secretariat, measures are being taken in 1990 for the reduction of construction of new party gorkom and raykom administrative buildings.

For the purpose of assisting the accelerated development of the social sphere, and the erection of housing for individuals who suffered as a result of the Chernobyl accident, excluded from the construction plan are: additions to the buildings of the Rechitskiy and Slonim city committees, and the Smolevichskiy, Krupskiy, Kopylskiy, Mstislavskiy, Stolbtsovskiy, and Lioznenskiy rayon party committees.

An amount of 25.7 percent of the total expenditures is being used for the maintenance of released primary party organization staffers; 45 percent at the city and rayon party committee level; 15.3 percent at the republic level; 9.2 percent for the maintenance of the Minsk Higher Party School, and 4.8 percent for the Institute of Party History under the Belorussian CP Central Committee.

The estimate of expenditures of the Belorussian CP Central Committee were R5.4 million. Of this, R1.3 million was utilized for the maintenance of the Belorussian CP Central Committee, comprising 2.3 percent of the total dues; R487,000 went to conduct mass political work; R670,700 for management expenses; R794,200 for the republic party organization's acquisition of computer equipment; R289,600 for the maintenance of the Institute of Party History and the Museum of the 1st RSDRP Congress; R2.3 million for construction and reconstruction of party organ sites, the publishing house editorial body, housing construction and premises repair.

Last year, the Belorussian CP Central Committee, the Belorussian CP Review Commission, party committees in the provinces, and party organization review commissions implemented systematic control over the execution of the party budget. An audit of the payment of membership party dues was conducted last year in all the

primary party organizations. The execution of the estimate of expenses for party obkom, gorkom, and raykom maintenance was audited.

While conducting the audits and examination of summary reports of incoming membership dues and annual financial reports, substantial shortfalls in the payment of membership dues were noted in many party organizations.

As of 1 January 1990, 3,169 CPSU members and candidate members, or 0.45 percent of the numerical composition of the republic party organization, had not paid their dues in a timely manner. This index increased 5-fold by comparison to the beginning of 1989. And 692 communists had not paid dues for 3 months or more; of them, 140 had moved beyond the borders of their oblast without having been removed from the register. Personnel proceedings have been taken for 408 people as violators of the CPSU Charter paragraph 8.

In 1989, in almost one out of every three primary party organizations audited, communists did not pay membership dues based upon their entire earnings.

In light of this, a reminder is necessary that in accordance with the CPSU Central Committee instruction, pensioner-communists must pay monthly membership dues on a universal basis, regardless of the size of the pension received, or the aggregate of other earnings.

No gross violations of financial discipline were established by the audits conducted in 1989. The estimates of expenditures for the maintenance of party committees and party institutions were fulfilled with savings in the majority of points. However, in certain party committees, resources for seminars and mass political work and cadre training were utilized with insufficient efficacy.

Sokolov Discusses Economy, Party Salaries

90UN1256A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 18 Feb 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Ye.Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian CP Central Committee, by N. Nikolayev: "On the Paths of Renewal"]

[Text] As we have already reported, Ye.Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian CP Central Committee, met with the Integral Collective. Below we are publishing an account of the meeting prepared by Belorussian CP Central Committee workers.

Perestroyka has approached that stage when each of us must sense, as they say, on our own skin responsibility for its successful outcome and when it is immoral to forget about the consolidation of activities when the positions, interests, and opinions of the opposing sides are crystallizing. Responsibility on all "floors"—from the work place to the Council of People's Deputies and party committees, to the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers and the Belorussian CP Central Committee—today this is what is capable of becoming the factor that

stabilizes and unites the efforts of communists and those with no party affiliation, veterans and young people, leaders and subordinates.

This idea was repeatedly expressed at the meeting of Belorussian CP Central Committee First Secretary Ye.Ye. Sokolov and Belorussian CP Central Committee Secretary V.A. Pechennikov with workers, engineer-technical workers, and employees of Integral Association.

It took place differently. Casual dialogues developed near the computers and automated lines. There was an official speech in the hall with the presidium and a speaker's rostrum. Problems were collectively discussed after the "official portion." They did not get by without mass-meeting emotions and excesses. It seems that we will not soon cure ourselves of the children's disease of street democracy.

But it was not this that determined the main keynote of the meeting but its mood to conduct a common search for answers to questions that the times place before us.

For the Economy—Stabilization and Dynamism

The impetus for such a mood was already set during conversations with the workers and engineers in the production sections. People openly said that the key to the resolution of problems facing society lies first of all in the economic sphere and in imparting the required dynamism to it.

Ye.Ye. Sokolov said what is being done in this direction in the Republic and dwelled on the results of the development of the national economy and agriculture during the past year.

Information. In industry, the volume of production grew by 4.8 percent and the productivity of labor by 5 percent. Procurement plans were fulfilled: For grain—106 percent; meat—100.7 percent; milk—100.8 percent; potatoes—104 percent; sugar beets—126 percent; and, vegetables 102 percent.

[Sokolov] We can consider last year's results positive in comparison with other republics. We also started this year at "3" [on a scale of five]. But this does not nearly correspond to our capabilities and to the technical, economic, scientific, and personnel potential created in the Republic and the main thing—to our needs.

What we have seen in the shops is evidence that Integral is on the leading edge of technical progress. Many of the Republic's enterprises need your designs. Let us say machine building. We make pretty good machine-tools and automated lines but we need to import control panels for them from abroad.

[Question from the audience] Some time ago, a decision was made to build a major microelectronics center in Minsk. Will it be created during the 13th Five-Year

Plan? Is this position under the control of the Belorussian CP Central Committee?

[Sokolov] Yes, we need to resolve this issue.

[Question] Why do we not use the intellect of Integral, Minsk Computer Equipment Association, and other enterprises of this type to equip machine-tools and automated lines with control panels?

[Sokolov] The proposal is beginning to take root.

Speaking about strengthening the social reorientation of the economy and about the food problem in particular, Ye.Ye. Sokolov dwelled on the issues of transitioning agricultural production to modern technology. He listed cases that are evidence of their high effectiveness from the point of view of development of farm economies, resolution of social issues, and consolidation of personnel in the village.

Information. This year, Republic deliveries to the Union fund were reduced for meat—72,000 tons, milk—360,000 tons, and by 80,000,000 eggs. These products will be sent first of all to rayons whose populations were victims of the Chernobyl accident.

This does not reduce the seriousness of problems: Housing, flooding the market with goods, development of the service sector, improvement of medical services, and protection of the environment. But progress is also being noted here.

Information. Last year, the increase of consumer items totaled 6.3 percent. More than 750 million rubles worth were manufactured in addition to the task. The ratio of goods remaining in our domestic market increased. Under the new management conditions based on self-management and self-financing, the Republic will have the priority right to use products manufactured by enterprises, associations, and organizations located on its territory. Beginning in 1991 in particular, the Republic will have at its disposal the entire growth in the output of goods obtained at specialized and non-specialized enterprises regardless of their departmental subordination. This year, we plan to increase output of consumer items by 16.7 percent.

"The construction base in many ways restrains us from imparting the required dynamism to the development of the economy and the social sphere," emphasized Ye.Ye. Sokolov, having also revealed when problems will be resolved with supplying the Republic's construction sites with the total requirement for cement, bricks, and other building materials.

Questions, questions.... How is the transition to market relations progressing? Does the Republic need its own convertible ruble? Does the leadership know about the growth of the "shadow economy"? What role can and should peasant farms play in resolving the food problem? The answers were both detailed and short depending on their significance.

Under Conditions of Political Pluralism

An even larger group of questions related to the results of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum that had occurred. It gave a mercilessly critical analysis of the situation in the country and adopted the draft Central Committee Platform on the eve of the 28th CPSU Congress that will bring out another view of the Party's role under contemporary conditions for all of us. New interrelationships are being established between the Party and the law, the Party and society, and leading cadres and rank and file communists. It renounces legislation to reinforce its leading role and will fight for a position of ruling strictly within the limits of the democratic process while defending its program in discussions with other political forces and developing and proposing scientifically based renewal programs to society.

Peoples' interest in the results of such an unusual and decisive CPSU Central Committee Plenum is understandable. The attempt to obtain answers to what troubles and concerns them from the "hands" of a Plenum participant is also understandable. And therefore, a subjective and mutually interesting conversation took place. Ye.Ye. Sokolov shared his personal impressions and thoroughly described how the meetings occurred, how the editorial commission sat until late at night while adding comments and amendments made during the meetings to the platform's text, and how voting proceeded on the draft.

Of the multitude of questions that were posed, I would like to share those that present the most social interest.

[Question] What will our Party be like and will it not digress from Marxist-Leninist positions?

[Sokolov] The Party is and will be Marxist-Leninist. At the same time, it is breaking with ideological blinders and dogmatism.

[Question] If the Party is the political and ideological framework of society, then leading Party organizations are the framework of the Party. Will their rights be broadened?

[Sokolov] Absolutely. They themselves will resolve the issues of their own structure, programs, and forms of activity, the frequency and procedures for conducting meetings, political actions, etc. They envision the creation of a mechanism that will permit leading party organizations to actually affect policy development of elected and representative organs.

[Question] What will happen if the majority of leading party organizations do not support the platform's ideas?

[Sokolov] I think that during the discussion they will not only support the platform but will also make many constructive suggestions. But if this happens anyway, the 28th CPSU Congress will decide.

[Question] Is the Plenum evidence of a split in the CPSU Central Committee Politburo?

[Sokolov] I consider the speeches of the Politburo members in another way—as a normal, businesslike, without allowances for pride, discussion. Pluralism of opinions is also a reality for the Party leadership. And we need to properly perceive this. As soon as we proclaimed the right to various points of view, it was impossible to refuse this right to anyone.

[Question] In your speech at the Plenum, you substantiated the need to develop a Belorussian Communist Party program. Will it be published for discussion?

[Sokolov] Absolutely. And with the calculation that the Republic's communists and workers would have sufficient time to thoroughly study the document and provide their comments and suggestions.

[Question] Why does the Republic Party Organization not prepare a draft CPSU Decree and introduce it as an alternative at the 28th Congress?

[Sokolov] I think that we will be able to realize this issue in the form of proposals of Party organizations and committees for the Commission for Congress Preparation.

[Question] When will the 31st Belorussian Party Congress take place?

[Sokolov] Approximately two weeks prior to the 28th CPSU Congress.

[Question] Will the Belorussian CP Central Committee be permanent like the CPSU Central Committee?

[Sokolov] The 31st Belorussian Party Congress will decide this.

[Question] The introduction of new positions is being proposed—CPSU chairman and his deputies. Will there be similar positions in the Republic's Communist Party?

[Sokolov] This is also a prerogative of the 31st Congress.

[Question] Why is nothing being reported about the Belorussian Communist Party's Party budget and about how it is formed and for what purposes Party funds are being expended?

[Sokolov] Appropriate material is being prepared for print. Follow the news.

[Question] Why does the Belorussian CP Central Committee not decide that leading party organizations leave up to 30 or 50 percent of the contributions for themselves?

[Sokolov] Today this is not within the authority of the Belorussian CP Central Committee.

Behind each question is an attempt to find ways and approaches that help the Party to strengthen its influence on the processes of political, socio-economic, and spiritual and moral renewal of society.

The opinion of V.M. Bordachev, an engineer and designer with no party affiliation, is characteristic in this

regard: It has now become fashionable to blame the Party for everything. It, they say, has led us to this life. And, like I say: All communists cannot answer for what other leaders created.

[Sokolov] I agree with your point of view. The entire 19 million man detachment of communists cannot bear the responsibility for what has occurred in the country. The overwhelming majority of them have honestly fulfilled and are now fulfilling their duty. As for the Belorussian Communist Party, we have neither Rashidovites, Medunovites, nor others like them. And each of us can be justifiably proud of such leaders as Masharov, Mazurov, and others.

Selection of Elections

The meeting participants manifested lively interest in the impending elections of delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress.

[Sokolov] Three versions will be proposed for discussion by the country's communists. I will read them to you: **"First version.** Election of delegates can be conducted in accordance with the decision of the appropriate congress or conference in single mandate electoral districts formed in accordance with the standards of representation and considering Party structure. In this case, the congress or conference creates an electoral commission and, it, based on the recommendation of rayon and city party conferences and Party raykoms and gorkoms, organizes elections of candidates for congress delegates whose nomination is carried out by leading party organizations that are part of a given electoral district.

"Second version. Direct elections: Oblast and kray party conferences and a Union Republic Communist Party Congress, having discussed and formed a list of candidates for delegates of the 28th CPSU Congress, sends it to the leading party organizations of the oblast, kray, and republic for a secret ballot by all party organization personnel. In this case, the work of the conference and congress is interrupted for the period needed to conduct the voting but for not more than one week.

"Third version. In accordance with the CPSU Charter, the Union Republic Party Congress and oblast and kray party conferences conduct elections of delegates to the CPSU Congress. The decision is made by the personnel of these organs by a $\frac{2}{3}$ vote. At the same time, the election procedure is democratized to the maximum extent and alternatives and mandatory discussion of each candidacy individually and secret ballots are provided for...."

Thus, elections of delegates according to all of the versions will be democratic and will not contradict the CPSU Charter. However, the final selection of elections, if I can express it that way, is for the communists. All three versions, I repeat, will be published for wide discussion.

Elections of delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress and also to the 31st Belorussian Communist Party Congress, and to oblast and rayon party conferences—of course, this is selection of positions and approaches. But not only this. This is also selection of the work style. Today the Party, having refuted constitutional reinforcement of its leading role, needs a basic re-examination of its operating style among the masses as never before.

This was also discussed during the "official portion" of the meeting. One of those present reasonably reproached its organizers—the Integral Partkom—because the conversation should have been constructed somewhat differently having assigned a preference for dialogue and political dialogue. Actually, the "question—answer" form does not provide the opportunity to completely clarify the positions of each discussion participant.

But nevertheless to say that there was not a lively exchange of opinions means to go against the truth. Was it also occurring during, and especially after the "official portion" when Ye.Ye. Sokolov immediately found himself surrounded by those present and the conversation continued.

N.Ye. Patskevich, secretary of the Association Partkom: "Party Committees at all levels, from the plant to the Belorussian CP Central Committee, need to more courageously seize the initiative for themselves and not be late with decisions and political actions that can promote the increase of the Party's prestige and consolidation of healthy forces."

E.P. Kaloshkin, chief engineer of the Association: "The weak side in the activities of the Party Committees is the reduction of exactingness and strictness. You read the materials of the next Plenum—critically, sharply, never more sharply. But time passes and there are no conclusions. And the question arises: And where is the responsibility for what is occurring?"

"I pounced' on **A.V. Tkach**, first secretary of the Belorussian CP Central Committee and section head of one of the enterprise's subdivisions: Why do you rarely catch sight of Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro members on television screens, and still more rarely hear them on the radio? Really, today their primary duty is to maintain contact with the masses."

[Sokolov] I agree with regard to television and radio, we need to appear on them more frequently. As for meetings with workers collectives, I advised the comrades to not report each of my visits to a plant, kolkhoz, or institute in the press. I think this is more modest.

[Tkach] You are wrong. Each meeting in the collectives must be covered by the mass media. Your activities as party leader, since you are first secretary of the Belorussian CP Central Committee is not only your affair, the affair of your comrades in the Central Committee and Buro, but also that of all Republic communists. Each of us has a right to know how the party leader uses his work time.

Once Again About the Party Apparatus and Its Salaries

We at times complain: We know more about the leaders of Western countries than about our own leaders. But, if an opportunity appears to learn a little more, how do we use it?

Ye.Ye. Sokolov was asked many "personal" questions. Just what interested the meeting's participants? Perhaps what forms and methods he employs in his activities? Or what he thinks is the main thing in association with his colleagues and party comrades? Where did he receive his work training? Does he have free time and how does he spend it? What interests him? Does he manage to follow the periodicals? Which book did he read last week?

Alas, the entire interest in the party leader's personality was reduced to what was "hot:" Salary, current salary and the one that he received previously, office car, dacha... What else is here—the desire to protect the reputation of the "fighter" for social justice? Or a skillful and calculated warmed over attempt of individual forces to not remove problems of party workers privileges from the "agenda?" To not remove them despite the fact that the problem has "fizzled;" The past is gone and there will be no return to it.

The "highlight" of the questions is the increase of party staff salaries.

[Sokolov] The draft platform precisely states that the Party staff is needed. The idea of party committees with no staffs that is pressed by those who would like to transform the Party into discussion clubs has not passed and has been rejected. Improvement of staff structure is another matter. And now about salaries. As you know, the party staff was substantially reduced, by a third of its strength, at the end of 1988. The raise was mainly carried out due to salary fund savings. But we only began to pay it since October of 1989. A break in time resulted. They involuntarily or intentionally forgot that the staff was reduced and that the volume of work for those remaining increased. And they only talked their heads off about salaries. Furthermore, today a new worker arrived and is arriving in the party committees. His duties are also to implement new functions dictated by the renewing party in a renewing society. And they are quite varied and require a broad outlook, a high political culture, broad knowledge, and the ability to listen to and convince a man.

[Voice from the hall] We are interested in your personal position.

[Sokolov] When this question was being examined in Moscow, I proposed increasing the salaries of only secretaries of leading party organizations and workers of rayon and city committees. And let us end it there. However, my proposal did not pass. I must point out to you: The salaries of industrial enterprise leaders and experts, associates of design and other institutions, and workers of government, trade union, and Komsomol organs were also increased.

Information. Official salaries of first secretaries of rural party raykoms were increased from 340 to 500-550 rubles and were set on a level of the average statistical salary of leaders of profitable organizations (576 rubles).

Salaries of first secretaries of party raykoms in cities were set at 500-550 rubles and the three party gorkom group salaries are from 470-520 rubles that corresponds approximately to the average monthly salary of leaders of enterprises until the transition to new salary conditions.

Salaries of first secretaries of party kraykoms and obkoms have been increased from 470-600 to 700-850 rubles and are equal to the average monthly wage of leaders of industrial enterprises that equals 600-850 rubles and in many cases even over 1,000 rubles.

Salaries of the first secretary of the Belorussian Central Committee, the chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet, and the chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers is 950 rubles.

[Question] Why do you cast your ballot for Belorussian SSR People's Deputies not in Minsk but in one of the rayons of Brest Oblast?

[Sokolov] They know me better there since I have worked in Brestchina for almost twenty years.

At the Center of Policy—The Man

The Chernobyl theme was often heard at the meeting. There were various questions, but...recognized and repeated. And in this hall and in many other of the Republic's auditoriums. Let us say that we had to hear this question like before such as the unjust distribution of the "Chernobyl Fund" when Belorussia received much less money than the Ukraine during the initial stage. And the answer was always the same. And precisely: They had to suppress the runaway reactor in rapid succession and take steps so that adjacent units did not malfunction. Naturally, this required a great deal of resources.

But can we think that only the Ukraine caught it? Does not the fact that they managed to stifle the reactor anyway did not impact and does not impact the radiation situation in Belorussia and adjacent oblasts of the RSFSR? And finally, has this not really been repeatedly reported in the press and on television?

The critical arrows of the majority of the questions were directed only at one side: Why is information about the consequences of the catastrophe being hidden and why is the leadership not asking for aid from other countries and the U.N., and why are cattle raised in contaminated areas not being inspected for contamination?

One conclusion invited itself from the nature of the questions: Neither the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Republic government, nor the Belorussian CP Central Committee is undertaking anything to rapidly eliminate the consequences of the Chernobyl misfortune.

But this is really not so.

To build conclusions only on the basis of rumors and conjecture and to reject obvious facts only because they do not fit into a previously built scheme—is this the path that leads to the truth?

And nevertheless, we will not rush and we will not rebuke the meeting's participants for a certain bias and one-sided programming. Just what is the Chernobyl disaster for the Republic's residents? A wound that is bleeding even today. The problem has grown from a socio-ecological one to a political one. Unfortunately, not everyone understood that. Hence, the attitude many people have toward it is not as a tragedy and hence the adequate activities to this attitude.

The population's information about the resolution of the Chernobyl problems at all levels must be not only systematic but also constantly be on the offensive, complex, and anticipate any type of rumor or simply a lack of understanding of the essence of the question. It is possible that monthly surveys on television, radio, and monthly columns in Republic and oblast newspapers are required where government representatives, ideological workers, and journalists would report the progress of fulfillment of the state's program to the people. Video newspapers installed in crowded areas of the city that regularly transmit information about the radiation background, etc., could provide a good service. In short, we need open, effective, public monitoring of everything that somehow or other "operates" on the Chernobyl theme.

Insignificant expenditures are required for this but the effect will be great.

It is more complicated with self-information by means of individual use dosimeters. But this problem is being resolved. The press has already reported about the manufacture of the first batches of such needed instruments this year. They will be sent to disaster areas.

Elimination of the consequences of the Chernobyl accident is one of the programmed tasks of Republic communists. This will be clearly and simply stated in the Belorussian Communist Party program that the 31st Congress will adopt. And no one should have any doubts in this regard. A man, his rights, his personal dignity, and the diversity of his interests are at the center of CPSU policy and at the center of the Belorussian Communist Party's policy, too.

Party, People's Front Local Election Strength in Riga

90UN0988A Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
1 Feb 90 p 1

[Interview with Arnold Petrovich Klautsen, Riga Latvian CP Gorkom first secretary, conducted by I. Geyman: "What Those Who Do Not Go to the Polls on 4 February Will Lose"]

[Text] *On Sunday, 4 February, our republic will conduct the third round of elections for the position of people's deputy in local soviets. It has already become a newspaper cliché to say that this is the first time ever in the history of our republic that there have been such hotly-contested elections, but there is no avoiding it: there is simply no other way to describe the past and present political struggle for seats and, consequently, for influence in rayon and city organs of soviet authority. Our interview today with A. Klautsen, Riga Latvian CP Gorkom first secretary, concerns the previous rounds of voting and the upcoming elections.*

[Klautsen] If we are talking about preliminary results, then I must frankly admit that we lost the first two rounds. Prior to this third round a majority of seats in rayon and city soviets have been won by candidates from the opposition, the main strength of which is represented by the People's Front. The candidates supported by the party gorkom, as well as allied candidates from the Center for Democratic Initiatives, the International Front, the Council of War and Labor Veterans, the Komsomol and other public organizations have won less than one-half of the deputies' seats.

An immediate change occurred in the balance of power in the new group of deputies: less than one-third of them are CPSU members, only 0.8 percent (!) are Komsomol members, 26 percent are women, only 41 deputies (11 percent) are under the age of 30, and only 60 deputies (16 percent) are blue-collar workers.

On the eve of the third round of voting the balance of power in the Riga City Soviet looks like this: 48 deputies were elected from the Communist Party's slate, and 55 from the Latvian People's Front. On Sunday, 4 February, an additional 14 gorsovet deputies will be chosen. Elections will be held in Leningradskiy, Moskovskiy and, especially, Proletarskiy rayons in Riga.

[Geyman] As we can see, the difference in the number of seats held by the Communist Party bloc and the People's Front bloc is not that great, if one considers that 14 seats remain vacant. Is there any reason to speak of a defeat for your side in this election?

[Klautsen] I drew such a harsh conclusion on the basis of analysis of our work in the elections. This is no time for complacency: every seat won or lost on 4 February will to a significant degree determine who will be in power in Riga over the next few years.

[Geyman] If the power structure throughout our country and our republic as a whole remains unchanged, will it really make much difference who has a majority in a single city, whether it be the proponents of the existing political system or the People's Front's supporters? What would happen, for instance, if candidates from the party gorkom's slate make up for their past losses and win a majority in the Riga municipal elections?

[Klautsen] Let me begin by saying that in that case nothing unforeseen or unpredictable would occur. We

are aware of the shortcomings and failings on the part of the previous soviet membership, and whether rapidly or slowly those shortcomings will be eliminated. And in this turbulent era stability is a good thing in and of itself.

Now a look at the facts. Despite all the criticism that has been heaped upon the old gorsovet, no one has yet attempted to deny that it planned and had already begun to implement a number of projects which are of vital importance to the citizens of Riga. I will list a few of them: the Housing '90 Program, construction of anti-pollution facilities, collaboration with foreign firms for the purpose of resolving the longstanding water supply problem, construction of a brick plant and a ceramic plumbing supplies plant in conjunction with foreign firms... And what about the exceptionally important program of social assistance to veterans, large families and simply any people who live below the poverty level? In this list I would even include the case of the infamous steamship "Latviya," about which the press has made such sport in the past and in regard to which radio, television and the newspapers seem to have forgotten the time when the project was in full swing and promised real hard currency revenues for the city coffers.

[Geyman] Now let us take a look at this problem from the other angle: what will happen if the People's Front candidates solidify their majority?

[Klautsen] Let us consider what might seem to be a fact of secondary importance. Anyone who has visited Vilnius lately has surely noticed that everything connected with Lenin, Marxist-Leninist ideology and the history of the Soviet period has disappeared from the names of that city's streets, boulevards and squares. I think that we can expect similar changes: the recently elected deputies of Leninskiy Rayon, for example, have already begun a campaign to have not just one street renamed, but their entire rayon.

In principle there is no need to perceive this as a tragedy: a name is, after all, merely an abstraction. But the renaming of streets is merely one aspect of a chain of social and political transformations. Consider this possible transformation. Over a period of decades under the socialist system certain relationships have arisen between the city authorities and enterprises in industry, transportation, construction, etc. Those relationships are especially important in regard to the resolution of social problems: allocation of land for the construction of housing, kindergartens and schools, or provision of food services for labor collectives, or many other things. It cannot be said that these things have always gotten done smoothly and easily, but in the end social problems do get resolved.

What will happen if the People's Front wins a majority in the soviet? In order to answer that question one need only recall the concept by these new social forces aimed at halting Latvia's industrial development and going back virtually to the era of thatched roofs.

A curious thing. Power in the city is not yet even in the hands of the People's Front bloc, yet already an overt and, in my opinion, cynical attack on our humanitarian achievements and our way of life has begun. In a recent television broadcast journalists dealt with a store for invalids and veterans of the Great Patriotic War. Not only did they describe with relish the goods offered by the store, attempting thereby to drive a wedge between veterans and the other members of our society; some correspondents actually went so far as to state that the same benefits should be enjoyed by our front line veterans and the nationalistic legionaries who fought on the side of German fascism. That is a new kind of morality. And it is already knocking on your door and on mine.

Or consider another phenomenon. In city rayons where we suffered a clear defeat a campaign was immediately started to "reassign" existing office space. The new "owners" of the rayons, citing the need to give "living space" to Scouts, the Latvian National Independence Movement and other parties and organizations, asked the current occupants to make room, or else to simply go out and find other quarters wherever they can. One of the first acts by the new members of Kirovskiy Raysovet, for instance, was to ask the Znaniye Society and Latvian CP Central Committee courses to vacate of their current space. The deputies of Leninskiy Raysovet have been eyeing the party raykom building...

Let us assume that not all the citizens of Riga are concerned about the use of non-residential buildings. Yet could any citizen remain indifferent to the ever louder voices calling for the return of residential buildings to their former owners? People have repeatedly told me how for decades the former owner of a building lived quietly and unnoticed in that building, which now contains many apartments. In recent months she has become much more active: she complains to the residents if they slam their doors too loudly or behave in any other incautious way: "You can't do that," she scolds them, "or repairs will have to be made when you move out." Today she merely chides them for carelessness, but tomorrow she might toss a family that she does not like out onto the sidewalk, and neither the ispolkom nor the raykom could do anything to help that family.

I do not think that if the People's Front wins a clear-cut victory particularly rosy prospects will open up before the personnel of numerous services and offices in the municipal administration. That includes the highway department, and the trade department, and the film department, and municipal services: in short, the 50,000 people presently employed by the city. If the current opposition comes to power replacement of the city's soviet apparatus will inevitably occur, as well as a subsequent chain reaction which will sweep through right down to the housing unit boards and the smallest subdepartments. Incidentally, this is quite natural, and what will be taking place will be not merely the replacement of certain official with other officials, but rather

replacement of the proponents of one ideology and world view with people who hold a diametrically opposed ideology and world view.

[Geyman] To all appearances the party gorkom is making a great effort to ensure that that does not happen. You have probably already analyzed the reasons why you were defeated in the previous rounds of voting. What are those reasons?

[Klautsen] There were many reasons for it, many of them organizational in nature, resulting from inadequate activism on the part of party organizations. But a great deal, a very great deal, depends on the voters. For example, analysis indicates that between 90 and 95 percent of the native population went to the polls, while only 40-50 percent of the Russian-speaking population did so. These people are quite simply voluntarily turning over power to the opposition, and along with it their tranquil lives and the well-being of their children. And this at a time when the new public organizations are doing everything they can to exploit the passivity of a substantial segment of voters to take firm control of local soviets. The People's Front Duma Political Committee, for example, delivered an ultimatum to communist members of the People's Front, demanding that they place the Latvian People's Front's objectives above the Communist Party's program of action. In other words, the front's communists were being required to campaign in the election against... communists who supported the CPSU platform. Yu. Dobelis, one of the leaders of the Latvian National Independence Movement, urging people to resort to any trick to win power, declared: "In order to achieve independence we must not shy away from any diplomatic means, even convening in occupation soviets."

As the same time as the ideological opponent is mobilized and focused, many voters who could support the party gorkom's position unfortunately remain extremely passive, probably reasoning that things will take care of themselves. No, nothing will get accomplished by itself, and tomorrow people may come to regret the fact that today they could not take off their warm slippers or tear themselves away from the television set.

[Geyman] Is there perhaps something, Arnold Petrovich, that you would like to say to the voters in connection with this here on the eve of the decisive Sunday?

[Klautsen] Yes. First of all I would like to appeal to the labor collectives of our capital. Of late the voice of the working class and our highly educated technical intelligentsia has not been heard very much. People are getting the impression that the initiative is slipping out of your hands. Your fate is being decided by people who are alien to you. Remember that you are the backbone of our society. Remember it, go to the polls on 4 February, and vote for the candidate who in your judgment will be capable of fighting for a tranquil and sunny life in the future.

I would like to appeal to all the citizens of Riga. Give up part of your day off for the sake of the common cause, for the sake of everyone's welfare. Get out and vote! When you are getting ready to go to the polls stop by at your neighbors and invite them to go with you! Do not allow forces which will destabilize our society and sow discord among people to triumph!

[Geyman] After appeals like that, all that remains is to list the candidates for city soviet which the Communist Party is urging voters to elect on Sunday, 4 February...

[Klautsen] I will list 13 candidates on our slate, since the 14th is running in a military district. Thus, in Leninskiy Rayon, Election District #19, we urge you to vote for M. Nikitin, deputy general director of Sarkanays Rits PO, in Election District #26 of the same rayon for P. Grabovik, party gorkom Ideological Department head. In Moskovskiy Rayon, Election District #59, our candidate is V. Fomin, senior engineer at the Baltic Military District Computing Center. A large group of our fellow thinkers are on the ballot in Proletarskiy Rayon. In Election District #89 is S. Milch, department chief under the Latsantekhmontazh Trust, in District #93 N. Kozachev, systems operator at the VEF Association, in District #99 Yu. Kurbatov, head of a rayon militia department, in District #100 E. Voldman, senior state acceptance chairman of the Alfa Association, in District #101 L. Kitayeva, chief engineer at the Spartak Factory, in District #105 A. Krsheminskiy, party committee secretary at Sarkanaya Zvaygzne Plant, in District #106 A. Mogilin, VEF Association Party Committee secretary, in District #107 M. Gavrilov, senior instructor at Latvian State University, in District #109 G. Izranov, Proletarskiy Rayispolkom chairman, and in District #113 Yu. Antoshkin, sector head at the Electronics and Computing Scientific Research Institute.

[Geyman] Thank you for the interview!

Election Tactics in Ukraine Questioned

90UN1302A Moscow TRUD in Russian 23 Mar 90 p 1

[Article by V. Cherinko and Yu. Radchenko, Ukrainian SSR: "One Chicken—One Vote? An Epilogue to the Elections: About Some Dubious Methods of Political Campaigning"]

[Text] The high goal is to exclude low means to attain it—it seems that this moral axiom does not cause any doubts in anyone. But that is in theory. But in practice....

The pre-election campaign was in full swing when the colorful announcement appeared in the Kiev Microrayon of Bykoven: Here it consists of the sale of a certain amount of the product of the Kiyevskaya Poultry Plant. The residents read it and were amazed: What had suddenly caused this unprecedented concern and yet "with a notice?" They thought and speculated and still did not remember: I.M. Kapshtyk, the poultry plant director, was running for office in Bykoven. Meddling with the voters is understandable—how could they know

that this, putting it mildly, "non-standard" method of agitation has already been tested on the territory of a military unit among servicemen's families? A lively sale occurred there. It is true that some voters were dissatisfied: Few chickens were brought—if we could only get two. But who knows, maybe the quantity of whole birds strictly corresponded to the minimal number of votes required for victory during the elections: One chicken—one vote?

Furthermore, explanatory leaflets appeared several days later for those who did not understand the "fine" game. From them it was apparent that Comrade Kapshtyk can provide chickens and eggs when other candidates can provide nothing. They do not trade: The director of a music plant—music, a colonel—weapons, an engineer—radio parts, and a Khimvolokno worker—synthetic fabrics.

Let us recall: The poultry plant is a planned enterprise and therefore stores of other rayons obviously did not receive normal amounts of its products. After, those who were unlucky laughed to their heart's content about this newborn joke: "There are no chickens—they went to vote." It is true that we should not forget: He who laughs best laughs last—the poultry plant director was the victor in the pre-election campaign.

A curious pattern was noted by voter observers: The farther they got from the major cities, the wider the scale of good deeds in the campaign for votes. And some of those in power preferred to campaign "far from the noise of the city"—in remote rural districts—they are more reliable. Although the complications are also greater—shortcomings in daily needs here are somewhat more noticeable and one chicken is still inadequate—something more weighty is required.

Well, let us say, in Menskiy Electoral District No. 445 of Chernigov Oblast. Just what is it the residents here do not need! But for such an influential candidate such as V.V. Kuyanov, deputy chairman of Ukrainian SSR Gosagroprom [State Agroindustry] (he is head of the main administration of material technical supply), nothing was impossible and his rich hand did not run out of things to give away. They could only complain about one thing, that the pre-election campaign was moving too fast—things should always occur "as if by magic."

Indeed, some miracles were created. For example, Menskiy Raysovet Ispolkom needed spare parts for a Volga-24 and for a "Uazik"—please: Comrade Kuyanov only marked "by order of" and an exclamation point and the matter was taken care of. Here also Koropskiy Rayagrosnab dared to ask thus, utter nonsense: Altogether about 300 ramps for the rayon's vehicle management, engines, well, there are a few truck cabs there, axles, truck bodies, crankshafts, and bushings. Colleagues from Sosnitsa also did not become confused—was this candidate nominated for no reason? And Kuyanov without any delay set forth: "Comrade B.Ye. Travkin—for positive resolution."

He also openly admitted the "petitions" of Chernigov Oblagroprom General Director N.A. Valuyev—and handed out ten saw frames and grain drying machines, just as many cradle-mounted pumps, 12 concrete mixers, hulling mills and well pumps, six oil mills and just as many Kharkovchanka feed preparing plants and two sausage plants to boot. We hit the jackpot and we will remember this for a century—you know our people! Just let the people see a Chernigov resident and let him wriggle his mustache and who we need to nominate as a candidate.

But a hitch turned up: The district electoral commission took note of the pocket from which the generous functionary, just like a magician, extracted funded presents—not personal, but state funded! And by its decision "severely warned" Comrade Kuyanov about "allowing such cases."

But the deal is done and it is understandable that the "warning" had no perceivable consequences for the influential candidate: Strictness for the sake of strictness and the (voters) gratitude for the sake of gratitude. Obviously, the deputy's mandate covered over these small troubles: The goal justified the means.

However, it turns out that there are simple methods of influencing the outcome of voting than giving away chickens, grain dryers, or sausage plants. Well, let us say that O.M. Chayka, a member of the electoral commission, filled out eight ballots using her own hand—four for each of her favorite candidates for Council Deputy at various levels while the voting was being conducted in Electoral Precinct No. 27/27 (Pridneprovskiy Electoral District No. 143). A curious incident occurred there: Voter V.B. Kolonin who arrived to vote was told that his wife had already voted for him and they continued to be stubborn when he began to challenge this. They finally admitted the "error" but only when the outraged couple arrived at the precinct together.

Well it turns out that it is sometimes quite simple to assist a candidate—it is sufficient to operate the ball-point pen "for yourself and for your buddy." It is not so onerous or risky under such low activity by a region's voters.

Initiative is a quality that is quite admirable under the current emphasis on independence and initiative. But only not in a political campaign that assumes honest competition and equal rights and is incompatible with the dubious principle that justifies any means to achieve the desired goal.

Ukrainian Commission on Catastrophes, Accidents Reorganized

90UN1147B Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
15 Feb 90 p 3

[Report by the Information Sector, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers: "In Order To Cope Successfully with Emergency Situations"]

[Text] By a decision of the republic's government, its existing Permanent Extraordinary Commission on Eliminating the Consequences of Accidents, Catastrophes, and Natural Disasters has been reorganized as the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers Commission on Emergency Situations.

This organ has been assigned the task of implementing measures to reduce the probability of extreme circumstances arising, to plan well ahead of time for successfully coping with emergency-type situations, as well as to eliminate their consequences. It will coordinate the carrying out of scientific and technical programs with regard to creating and introducing new models of equipment, apparatus, mechanisms, and materials for search-and-rescue as well as breakdown-equipment units. Under emergency conditions this commission will implement urgent measures to render assistance to the population, to protect it, evacuate and place it in secure localities. It will head up the work of eliminating the consequences in this republic of the accident at the Chernobyl AES, providing multi-faceted and live-saving aid to the population in the regions which have suffered.

The commission will cooperate on matters of ensuring public safety, protecting the environment and national-economic facilities from accidents, catastrophes, natural phenomena, and ecological disasters with the permanent commissions of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and the high commands of the military districts, the Krasnoznamen'skiy [Red Banner] Black Sea Fleet, and will public organizations. It will carry out the appropriate monitoring, legal, and certain other functions.

The commission has been granted broad rights in order to fully perform the duties which have been assigned to it. In particular, for the purpose of successfully coping with emergency situations or to prevent them from happening, it may draw upon the transport means, rescue, medical, and other units of enterprises and organizations regardless of their departmental subordination. And, in case there is a danger that accidents and catastrophes could happen and develop, it has the authority to temporarily stop the activities of national-economic facilities.

It has been deemed feasible to reorganize the permanent extraordinary commissions under the oblispolkoms and gorispolkoms for eliminating the consequences of accidents, catastrophes, and natural disasters as ispolkom commissions for emergency situations.

Georgian Buro on Employment, Productivity

90US0668B Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
27 Feb 90 p 1

[GRUZINFORM report on session of CPGe Central Committee Buro: "A Time for Extraordinary Decisions"]

[Text] Now that our society has begun to advance and is overcoming its internal contradictions, it is steadily

rising to its new level of quality. Part of this advancement is a process engendering the hope that we will finally be able to define and choose the proper solution to any problem. The solution does not necessarily have to be recorded in a directive from a superior organ; it quite naturally can originate at any level of the society because renewal primarily signifies the individual's exercise of his innate ability to think and make decisions autonomously. Let us consider, for example, the serious problem of securing the employment of the population, which was discussed at the session of the CPGe Central Committee Buro after Enver Kapba, head of the socioeconomic department, presented his report.

Obviously, employment is not some kind of abstract term. It actually provides the individual with the tangible means of leading a normal life. Mere quantitative indicators are not enough here; it is necessary to consider a multitude of factors so that the labor of the population and the society can serve as the basis for its stable development. This is why the work in this area encompasses the entire complex of economic and cultural construction in different regions with a view to their natural, geographic, economic, and demographic conditions. This is practicable if the appropriate efforts are made at all levels of administration and planning.

In the past years of this five-year plan, 56,000 more people have been included in the republic economy. The indicator sounds good: The level of employment exceeds the union average. Above all, a positive role was played by the creation of new jobs, the addition of new shifts, and the development of cooperative operations. For example, just the introduction of multiple work shifts at enterprises and organizations increased the number of people employed by 15,000 in the last few years. Most of these were workers who had been released from their jobs when enterprises transferred to the new forms of economic management.

In short, there has been definite progress in this area, but we still have a long way to go before we reach the ideal state, and this is mainly a result of procrastination on the local level, where little is being done to make use of labor resources with a view to structural changes in the economy. The time has come, however, to acknowledge the completely tangible threat of conditions conducive to unemployment as a result of the transfer of enterprises and organizations to full economic accountability and self-financing and the transfer to leases and the family contract in agriculture. Furthermore, an imbalance is anticipated between labor resources and jobs. What does this mean? It means that the number of jobs will decrease perceptibly. This is what specialists have predicted, and the possibility must be considered. It is true that several thousand new jobs will be created in the national economy in the next few years, but there might not be enough of them. Additional reserves must be found and put to work by establishing a more effective and efficient infrastructure through the development of existing industrial facilities and the efficient distribution of new ones. During this process it will be necessary to bring

jobs closer to labor resources. In other words, the efforts to build branches of industrial enterprises in regions with a labor surplus must be intensified. Chairman Rusudan Dzhaparidze of the republic State Committee for Labor spoke of this need when the buro met.

The cooperative movement could be of great help, but as speakers said during the discussion, efforts in this area have been insufficient to date. Because of delays in the allocation of production facilities, difficulties in acquiring crude resources and materials, delays in filling out documents, the absence of available vehicles, and other reasons, only one out of every two registered cooperatives is operating in the republic at this time, and less than 1 percent of the established cooperatives are operating in regions with a large labor surplus, such as Bolnisskiy, Dmanisskiy, and Tsalkskiy rayons.

According to the report of Chairman Sergey Rigvava of the Committee of People's Control of the CPGe Central Committee, serious difficulties have arisen recently in the fulfillment of the plan for deliveries of manufactured goods in 1989 and the commitments to heighten the responsibility of Communist administrators because of interruptions in deliveries which have even caused some enterprises to stop work. This is clearly a case of the dramatic deterioration of contract discipline. It is true that there are some objective causes, but we simply cannot accept the failure of industries to restructure the management of delivery processes, to correct shortcomings, and to deal with unsolved problems. As a result, 231 associations and enterprises—i.e., one out of every three—have not fulfilled contract obligations and have failed to supply the national economy with more than 254 million rubles' worth of goods.

The work of the industrial enterprises of union jurisdiction, which have fulfilled the delivery plan by 97 percent, has been unsatisfactory. In natural terms, these underdeliveries have amounted to 105 million rubles. Ten out of twenty enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry failed to keep up with the annual program. The indicators of the Gruzelektromash, Elektrovozostroitel, and Elektroapparat production associations and of the Emalprovod Plant in Tskhinvali and the electromechanical plant in Batumi are particularly low. The state of affairs is no better at other enterprises in the republic. Irregularities in the work of branches of the agroindustrial complex have not been surmounted, and this has had an extremely negative effect on the state of affairs in the processing industry and on contributions to union supplies. The difficulties in these branches were compounded by interruptions in the work of railway and motor transport, which seriously complicated the provision of regions in the republic with food. Suffice it to say that contract commitments for 18 staples have been fulfilled only for wine, margarine, hard liquor, and tea.

These and other serious gaps were reflected in the buro decree describing the work of party committees and soviet and economic organs in the republic to secure the

observance of contract commitments for deliveries of products as unsatisfactory. Communist administrators in ministries, departments, associations, and enterprises and the heads of party organizations were requested to establish strict control over the completion of deliveries in full and in the assortment required, to ensure that each work crew realizes its personal responsibility for the fate of each order and contract, to develop and institute economic incentives for the timely completion of agreements, and to secure regular production operations and deliveries of a broader assortment of goods to their designated consumers.

Quite frankly, we must admit that we have had to get used to many things recently and we no longer experience any spiritual discomfort; on the contrary, the changes are strengthening our desire to exclude everything from our lives that reminds us of our undignified existence. It is time to make extraordinary decisions, and they are only within the power of those who are capable of creative and innovative thinking. Our advancement toward genuine renewal can be successful only when each person is filled with the desire to contribute to this process and when this contribution is one of the specific objectives of local administrators. These people, who felt that they were on the cutting edge of the struggle for our past accomplishments, must work each day to turn our high goals into the realities of the life of each citizen.

Uzbek Officials Evaluate Republic's 1989 Operations, Economic Development

90US0532A Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
18 Jan 90 pp 1-2

[UzTAG Report: "The Fate of Perestroyka is in Our Hands: From a Meeting of the Republic Party and Managerial Aktiv"]

[Text] Participants in the meeting of the republic party and managerial aktiv which took place in Tashkent on 16 January defined their tasks as follows: to thoroughly and comprehensively analyze the situation in such important spheres of the national economy as industry, transportation and communication; to analyze the activities of the administrators of ministries, departments, enterprises and organizations which are slowing down the development of our economy; and to demand an accounting from those who do not sense the extremely serious nature of the present political and social situation and are not demonstrating the required responsibility for affairs entrusted to them.

M.M. Mirkasymov, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, delivered a report.

Participating in the discussion were: Karakalpak ASSR Gosplan Deputy Chairman K.U. Dzhumabekov; Andizhan Cotton Association General Director A. Zh. Zhalilov; Termez Gorispolkom Chairman N.R. Khakimov; Uzbek SSR Light Industry Minister A.S. Ikramov; Tashkent Aviation Industry Association imeni Chkalov General Director V.N. Zhuravlev; Namangan Oblast

Ispolkom Deputy Chairman T.M. Maksudov; Uzbek SSR Motor Vehicle Transport Minister L.A. Akhmetov; Chirchik Gorispolkom Chairman N.F. Sharipov; and Uzbek Metallurgy Plant Party Committee Secretary N.R. Yusupov.

The speakers stressed that in 1990 everything must be done in order to restore the health of the economy, significantly increase the people's standard of living, and stabilize the socio-political situation in the republic.

The results of development for 1989, when measures were undertaken for the social reorientation of the republic's economy, were summed up at the meeting. Industry, transportation and communications are coming out of their slump.

However, while speaking about these and other positive achievements, it was noted that the results for 1989 also testify to the fact that the transition of enterprises to cost-accounting and self-financing, and allowing their administrators freedom of choice, have not been accompanied with the proper increase in production effectiveness and achievement of high end results.

In the past year the gross social product of the republic grew by only 3.3 percent, which is 1.6 times lower than for 1988. The rate of growth in national income declined significantly. And the financial situation remains complex.

Nor has there been significant growth in the work of the leading national-economic complexes—industry, transportation and communication—which are the basis for the republic's technical progress and social development.

Industrial production volume for the year grew by only 3.6 percent, as opposed to the 5.9 percent established; planned production valued at almost 0.5 billion rubles was not delivered. Output in the Group "A" sector grew by only 1.7 percent for the year, which is lower than planned output by a factor of three. Enterprises in the machine-building, metallurgical, chemical-wood pulp and agro-industrial complexes botched the plan; and over 300 production associations and enterprises in the republic produced less than the previous year.

The situation with respect to fulfilling contracted obligations for deliveries has not improved. One enterprise in six could not cope with this indicator. Revenues for the republic budget derived from profits have declined significantly. And the industrial construction situation has not improved either.

This requires an in-depth and self-critical analysis of all our work, and new and unusual approaches to solving the problems of restoring the republic's economic health and overcoming its destabilizing factors. Therefore, in 1990 we must direct all our efforts toward reorientation of all branches of the national economy toward solving social problems. An extremely tense situation has come to pass in the republic with respect to essential goods. Many of them have disappeared from the shelves in the stores. As

before, almost 45 percent of the required non-food commodities must be shipped-in to the republic, including the most basic kinds of goods for household and domestic use, valued at more than 150 million rubles.

According to the Uzbek CP election platform, among the most important tasks placed before party, Soviet and economic organs for the coming years are ensuring a reliable income to the workers and a wide selection of consumer goods; and increasing their average per-capita production from 517 rubles in 1988 to 650 rubles in 1995, with a corresponding increase in their consumption from 802 to 950 rubles. At the same time production of non-food goods must increase by a factor of 1.8 to 2.0 by 1995.

The solution of this task must be begun already this year; goods production must increase by 9.6 over last year's. At the same time production of non-food articles must increase by more than 11 percent: to include: furniture, by 15; clothing and shoes, by 14; hosiery articles, by 11; and soap, by 6.0 to 8.0 percent.

It was stressed that ministries and departments, soviet and economic organs must thoroughly and critically analyze the work results and put all material and technical resources into action, paying special attention to increasing work productivity, use of productive capacities, and not allowing stoppages and loss of work time. However, the administrators of many of these are not involved in this work; and instead of increasing production, they are not even undertaking to carry out the production plans established by the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.

In 1989, with such a complex situation with goods resources, a number of enterprises which had the production capacities, labor resources, and raw-material supply did not undertake to carry out production plans for 400 million rubles worth of goods. Planned production of goods worth 163.1 million rubles did not take place; the light industry ministry (Comrade Ikramov, minister) failed to produce 82 million rubles worth of goods; and Goskoopkomselkhoz [State Cooperative Committee for Agricultural Production] (Comrade Karimov, chairman), by 208.6 million rubles. One hundred sixty-eight production associations and enterprises in the republic botched their production plans.

The Karakalpak ASSR Council of Ministers and the oblast ispolkoms are not making proper use of their rights and are not recruiting all enterprises on their territory for goods production. As a result, in 1989 the consumer goods production plan was botched by enterprises of Andizhan Oblast in Karakalpak ASSR, and Surkhandar, Kashkadar and Syrdar Oblasts, which produced two to three times fewer consumer goods than other oblasts in the republic, on an average, per-capita basis.

Of late, many ministries and departments are forgetting just who the basic consumer of their products are; they

are failing to eliminate massive instances of group and departmental egoism; and they are reducing production of relatively inexpensive products. Without the consent of trade organizations a number of industrial enterprises stopped production of 72 specific products.

The practice of price violation and boosting prices in industry has not stopped.

The work of the republic Ministry of Light Industry give cause for special concern. Last year they fulfilled the plan for contracted deliveries by 98.7 percent, and consumers filed to receive 52.5 million rubles worth of products; at the same time every eighth enterprise botched its plan. A tough situation has come to pass in the cotton industry.

Local industry is faced with great problems. Here they are failing to cope with increasing production of the simplest goods for household and domestic use; with organizing industrial production in every populated place in the republic, and with an increase in home manufacturing.

Providing housing to every family in the republic demands accelerated production of furniture. At the present time its production in the republic is 2.5 times lower than the average for the rest of the country, on a per-capita basis. Therefore, in 1990 the furniture industry must increase consumer goods production volume to 271 million rubles, or by 16.4 percent. However, to this day four of its 16 enterprises have not yet reached the level of planned assignments for furniture production. Among these are the Tashkent and Kokand furniture factories.

Republic heavy industry enterprises are making an extremely small contribution to developing production of consumer goods. Although they possess skilled specialists and workers, today they allow themselves 12 percent of the republic's consumer goods production. Moreover, many of them are extremely slow to turn to this task. Among these are the Almalyk mining and metallurgy combine (Comrade Sigedin), the Tashkent Electromechanical Plant (Comrade Kovalskiy); the Chirkselmash (Comrade Budayev), Elektrokhimprom (Comrade Golubev) and Foton (Comrade Tateosov) Production Associations; the Tashkent Aviation Association (Comrade Zhuravlev), and other enterprises which are producing goods on the basis of two to 40 kopecks per ruble of the wage fund.

In 1990 heavy industry enterprises are supposed to begin production of radio sets with microcircuitry, electronic equipment for automobiles, home telephones, and transistors. However, work in this direction is going very slowly.

To improve the state of the consumer market, it is necessary to increase production of consumer goods in the next few years by no less than three to four-fold. This applies especially to the Tashkent Aviation Association, where under conditions of reduced demand for their

basic range of goods and conversion of production, it is entirely possible to completely convert one of its plants for these purposes.

In spite of certain changes, the food product production situation in the republic is unsatisfactory. In 1989, 17 associations and enterprises of the republic Goskoopkomselkhoz botched their plans for production. Production volume fell in comparison with 1988 for papirosy and cigarettes, margarine products, canned fruit and vegetables, cognac, and fish catches. The meat and dairy industry was short by over 10,000 tons of meat products. The Ugra and Almalyk confectionery factories and the Kagan oil-extraction plant failed to cope with the plans. And the work of the Uzryba [Fishing] Association has become noticeably worse.

Uzbekbryash is using its production capacity for manufacturing consumer goods by only 70-80 percent. There must be no less than a two-fold increase in production of food items in the next few years; non-food items must increase by a factor of 2.7.

Under conditions in which extraordinary measures are being taken in the country to stabilize the situation on the consumer market, under-supply of production by any enterprise at all disturbs the economy of the entire country. Therefore, in a very short period we must examine and solve, in conjunction with Gosplan, all remaining questions on balancing planned production volumes with material-technical resources, and before the end of January complete the work on concluding economic contracts for 1990. Many enterprises of union subordination are moving slowly on this.

Such attitudes toward concluding delivery contracts on the part of the administrators of each ministry, department, enterprise, and organization cannot be interpreted in any way other than deliberate sabotage of perestroika. Therefore, Gosplan and republic ministries and departments must urgently conduct an inventory of the entire package of delivery contracts for 1990, and take the strictest measures toward those who are contributing to destabilization and to the already severe economic situation in the republic.

The tensions in the consumer market and low production growth rates are largely associated with shortcomings in the development of the basic industrial sectors. Complications in the work of the republic's metallurgical complex were not overcome in 1989. The Uzbek Metallurgical Plant is hugely in arrears. Enterprise administrators in this complex must do everything to re-orient them for top-priority solution of the republic's social problems. It is well-known that supplying natural gas and laying water pipes in the countryside are being delayed by a shortage of pipe. Therefore the Uzbek Metallurgical Plant must find a way out, and within a period of two or three years set up a pipe production capacity of 100,000 tons per year, in order to satisfy the needs of the republic first.

Enterprises in the machine-building complex are not operating satisfactorily. Last year 15 of them botched planned production output with respect to contracted obligations. Among these were the Tashkent Excavator Plant, the Sredazelektroapparat [Central Asian Electrical Apparatus] Scientific Production Association [NPO] and the Chirchikselmash [Chirchik Agricultural Machinery] Production Association.

One of the most important tasks for the national economy is fundamental change in its structure. Those taking part in the meeting are convinced that we must strive for a situation in which on the whole all raw-material resources are processed on republic territory, which will permit increasing the national income and the per-capita income of the populace.

But this task is now being carried out very badly. For example, major capacities have been set up in the republic for manufacturing machinery for agriculture. However, with the transition of farms to cost-accounting, demand for machinery is falling. As a result, the financial situation of enterprises of the Mashkhlopok [Cotton Machinery] State Production Association [GPO] as been undermined, and certain of them have gone to the brink of bankruptcy. They must switch to production of spare parts and consumer goods.

The transition to new forms of labor organization in agriculture also demands new approaches to placing orders for agricultural equipment. Under these conditions it would perhaps be expedient to transfer the existing network of repair plants and technical service stations of the republic agro-industrial complex to the Mashkhlopok GPO, in order to establish a unified system for the study of the demand for, sale, repair and technical servicing, and in the future—rental, of equipment to certain farms and leasing collectives.

From the machine-builders, the farmers expect modern, highly-efficient and reliable equipment. However, the inter-branch scientific-technical center [MNTTs] set up for these purposes as early as 1986, has not yet been able to cope with the tasks set for it.

In the next few years, 120 small processing enterprises and shops are to be set up on the republic's farms. However, many machine-building enterprises are contributing virtually nothing to the solution of this problem. In 1989, Sredazselkhoz mash, Sredazkhimmash and Uzbekkhlopkomash manufactured only 17 units of equipment for them in all; and even the client for this equipment—Goskoopkomselkhoz—is not concentrating on this task; it has not yet concluded the contracts for their manufacture.

Enterprises of the chemical complex are faced with large tasks as well.

There is a possibility to reduce the use of cotton pods in the technological process and to turn them over to the republic's retail market to add to the supply of cattle feed. A replacement raw-material has already been

found: the cores of corncobs. But work is at a standstill, because the Uzbiokhim Production Association (Comrade Yakubov), the republic Goskoopkomselkhoz (Comrade Karimov), and the Fergana (Comrade Fazylov) and Andizhan (Comrade Rakhimov) Oblast Ispolkoms have not yet solved the organization for collection and centralized delivery to their hydrolysis plants.

One of the most important tasks is to achieve modern scientific-technological progress, and the transition to assimilation of labor- and science-intensive manufacturing. At the present time the question of making use of unfinished construction projects at a high-degree of readiness is being considered in the republic, as well as the question of the labor resources released. In accordance with decisions from the directive organs, in the next few years it is planned to construct a filter plant in Syr-Darya Oblast, an electrical equipment and instrument plant for tractors in Khorezm Oblast, and the third stage of State Ball Bearing Plant No 27 in Andizhan Oblast. A proposal is being worked out with the USSR Minavtoselkhoz mash [Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building] for switching the Leninsk Trailer Plant in Andizhan Oblast to production of passenger cars, and a task has been approved for developing its technical-economic basis.

We must steadfastly follow the line of more rational location of productive forces on the territories, and strengthening the republic domestic market and inter-regional contacts. Further industrial development in Tashkent Oblast and the city of Tashkent should be limited to the manufacture of consumer goods. At the same time the growth of the industrial potential of the remaining oblasts and rayons on this plane should be accelerated. We have already begun work here. The republic Council of Ministers has adopted resolutions on the socio-economic development of the Dekhkanabadskiy and Chirakchinskiy Rayons in Kashka-Darya Oblast. Development plans are being prepared for Sariysiyskiy Rayon in Surkhan-Darya Oblast, and for Koshkupyrskiy Rayon in Khorezm Oblast.

Small enterprises must be set up more rapidly in the next 2-3 years in all rayon centers where there are no industrial enterprises; raygorpromkombinaty [probably, Regional City Industrial Combines] must be reorganized, situating branches and shops in major populated places, and on kolkhozes and sovkhozes—paying special attention to the development of home crafts. Last year a statute on small enterprises and forms of management was approved. Local Soviets, as well as state enterprises, can found them. These forms of production organization are the most rapidly adaptable to changes in market demand; and, they are most capable of rapidly restructuring their manufactures in response to customer orders. Only thus will it be possible to approach the solution of a problem of enormous economic, social and political significance: namely, ensuring the full and effective employment of the able-bodied populace.

Toward these ends, a special-purpose comprehensive Employment Program has been adopted and is beginning to be implemented. This year nearly 300,000 people must be provided with work and stable wages, and accelerated training is to be commenced for a skilled working class and engineering-technical personnel from young people of the indigenous population.

However, administrators of a number of ministries and departments, local Soviets and industrial enterprises are taking an ill-considered and haphazard approach to these problems; and, instead of training workers from among local inhabitants, they are recruiting them from outside the republic. This applies especially to Union-level enterprises, where the rate of employing workers from local nationalities does not exceed 20-25 percent, in spite of a chronic shortage of workers.

This situation must be corrected, and a program must be worked out in all oblasts for raising the employment rate of the populace, taking as an example the experience of the Namangan Oblast Ispolkom, which widely emulated the experience of the Tashkent Jewelry Factory, where nearly 95 percent of the workers are representatives of local nationalities.

A good deal can be done on the basis of developing direct economic ties with other republics and oblasts in the country. Specifically, before the end of the year, in accordance with a cooperation agreement with Leningrad Oblast—Gosplan, ministries and departments and Soviet organs must resolve the question of setting up a number of spinning and finishing mills in the oblasts of the republic, by means of transferring them from Leningrad. Toward these ends, the Karakalpak ASSR Council of Ministers and oblast ispolkoms should jointly conduct a complete inventory and identify all empty and improperly-used buildings and accommodations, and adapt them for setting up the appropriate production.

The task for developing external economic ties must be resolved in a new aspect. Here more active work should be undertaken to establish joint enterprises, it was stated at the meeting.

Greater attention must be devoted to the quality of production, which is growing worse everywhere. Last year the proportion of products of the highest quality amounted to 7.0 percent in all. The quality of production is especially poor at enterprises of the Ministry of Light Industry, Goskoopkomselkhoz, Uzbek-briyashu, Ministry of Local Industry, and at the republic Ministry of Consumer Services.

The role of Gosstandart must be increased in every way, and a principally-new state system must be created for analysis and control of product quality, by means of testing and certification. Special attention must be devoted to certification of cotton. Such a center is now being set up in the republic; however, thus far work is proceeding at a slow pace.

Ispolkoms of local Soviets are doing a poor job in this respect. In many regions of the country, consumer societies are being set up in order to defend the interests of the public in questions of product quality; however, thus far we do not have one.

Progress in socio-economic development of the republic is impossible without introducing the achievements of scientific-technical progress; however, its condition in the republic causes considerable anxiety. Year in, year out, plans for developing science and technology are botched. Especially in arrears in carrying them out are enterprises of the Ministry of Construction Material, Ministry of Communications, Goskoopkomselkhov, and the Ministry of Grain Products. They have practically no influence on the growth of labor productivity and the financial state of the enterprises.

Long-obsolete and wasteful equipment in republic enterprises, over a third of which is practically worn out, is seriously retarding industrial development. The technical level of production remains low. In light industry, for example, the proportion of advanced equipment reaches only 40 percent, and in machine-building does not exceed 27.

We have not managed to overcome the extremely poor receptiveness of the republic's national economy to the achievements of science and technology. In 1989 only seven inventions by scientists at the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences were utilized in the republic's national economy, while at the same time they received nearly 350 patents.

The financial state of the enterprises does not offer an opportunity to realize the advantages of cost-accounting activities, much less support the transition to an efficient market economy.

The enterprises are not making proper use of the assets from economic incentive funds. Many administrators remain in a state of dependency, and are constantly asking for financial assistance from the republic or the ministry. For a number of years, the Uzbek Metallurgical Plant, the Dzhizak Battery Plant, and other enterprises have been living off borrowed assets and subsidies.

We must use more wisely the surplus assets of economic incentive funds: direct them toward helping poor families; stimulating low-prestige professions; and setting up small enterprises and shops for the manufacture of consumer goods.

We must completely utilize industrial by-products, local raw-materials, inconvertible stock, surplus goods stocks of material value and equipment.

Further development of the social sphere, and especially accelerated accommodations for the villages and expanded individual housing construction, are being delayed by the slow growth in the production of building materials. Moreover, organizations of the republic

Minstroyaterialov [Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry] has greatly underfulfilled the plan for cement, reinforced concrete slabs, decorative ceramic tile, bricks and slate.

Under the conditions which have come to pass it is important to strive for maximum utilization of existing production capacities. Meanwhile, capacities for production of bricks are at a low level in Karakalpak ASSR, and in Syr-Darya and Samarkand Oblasts. The administrators of these enterprises must understand that no one will tolerate a situation in which plans for development of the branches of the national economy and above all the republic's social sphere are botched because of an irresponsible attitude toward matters.

The republic's fuel and power engineering complex is faced with great tasks. We must provide a stable supply of electrical power, coal and gas to the national economy and the public; support the increasing construction of individual housing in the republic with water and utilities; and sharply reduce the norms for consumption of all kinds of energy resources. A sixth power unit must be put into operation at the Novoangrenskaya GRES [State Regional Electric Power Station], and two starting units for sulfur gas scrubbing at the Mubarek Gas Processing Plant; a starting complex for recovery of coal at the Angren strip mine; and a number of other projects.

Transportation has a significant role to play in the reorientation of the economy; however, last year its operations were much worse.

Last year the Central Asian Railroad shorted the consumers of Uzbekistan by more than 40,000 rail cars and 130,000 containers. Enterprises of the machine-building, chemical, cement, light and oil-refining industries suffered in particular. However, there was considerable mismanagement in the activities of the freight receiving enterprises as well.

The Uzbek Civil Aviation Administration has not completely satisfied the needs of the republic for air shipments, and especially passenger service. Whereas for all the airports in the country as a whole there are 45 departures per 100 people, in Uzbekistan the figure is lower by a factor of 1.5. As a result of this, there is a shortage of airline tickets, and they are withheld from sale for the purposes of extortion and speculation.

There are many shortcomings and a great deal of neglect in the operation of motor vehicle transport, the indicators for which have been frozen at a level of 15-20 years ago. Imperfections in the economic mechanism are significantly hampering setting up effective operations here.

Problems of developing communication are still severe, especially for the telephone system. Today demand for telephones in the villages of the republic is only 15 percent satisfied, and in the cities, by half.

The Central Asian Railroad, the Uzbek Civil Aviation Administration, the Ministry of Motor Vehicle Transport, the Ministry of Communications, the Karakalpak ASSR Council of Ministers, and oblast ispolkoms must take urgent measures to improve the organization of transport work, especially for express freight shipments; they must step up control over timely loading and unloading of freight cars, and raise the quality of service to the public. In short, they must do everything in order that the people might sense their concern for their everyday needs.

The problem of strengthening and expanding the material-technical base for industry, transportation and communications is acute. In many oblasts the program for developing capacities for producing building materials is being botched.

This situation must be corrected at once, and not fluctuate from one extreme to another; after all, industrial construction means both employment for the people, and the solution of social problems.

The development and implementation of a complex of measures to restore the health of the ecological situation is an important one, which urgently demands solution. At many enterprises of industry, transportation and communication, especially those of Union subordination, noteworthy improvements in these questions have not yet occurred.

The serious shortcomings and neglect in the development of industry, transportation and communications are the results of extremely slow introduction of economic reforms and imperfections in the new economic mechanism.

In many places the conduct of reforms is being dragged out or is not being completed. Many ministries and departments, and Soviet and economic organs, instead of actually displaying an active role in implementing the radical economic measures, are biding their time and are preventing a display of enterprise. As a result only 21, or merely 2 percent of all enterprises in the republic, have switched to leasing.

The role of local Soviets in the economy has grown immeasurably; they are obliged to promote effective actions by enterprises, and take measures to establish a favorable regime. One must bear in mind the fact that state enterprises are the basic link in a unified national-economic complex; that they have the principal role in developing the economic potential, and in satisfying the growing material and spiritual needs of the people.

We also have numerous examples of close interaction between local Soviets and the collectives at enterprises. This pertains to the Khorezm Oblast Ispolkom (Comrade K. Kh. Khalimbetov) and to the cities of Chirchik (Comrade N.F. Sharipov), and Almalyk (Comrade T. Tapilov), which are boldly going to total cost-accounting.

But there are also quite a few examples of another kind. Last year, for example, essentially with the consent of the local organs, subcontracting work for dozens of construction projects started were not included in the plans, to include environmental protection at the Azot [Nitrogen] Association, at the gas apparatus plant in Fergana, at the Uzbekrezinotekhnika [Uzbek Rubber Compound] Association in Angren, and a number of manufactures in Tashkent.

In the new year the process of transition to new forms of enterprise management will accelerate. In connection with the exposure of ineffective and at times negative influence on the process of organization of production and work, freedom of choice is being taken away from administrators of state enterprises, and especially economic organizations. Severe economic sanctions will be taken against enterprises which refuse to accept state orders.

Therefore, work must be stepped up for ensuring fulfillment of tasks stipulated for 1990 for sharply increasing production of consumer goods; more attention must be given to questions of strengthening the material base; measures must be taken to improve the mechanism for control and management, for deepening economic reforms, and for strengthening labor and production discipline. The level of leadership of enterprises and organizations should be raised, taking advantage of the existing arsenal of economic and organizational measures of influence. In a word, to direct all our economic activity toward man, toward the satisfaction of his needs and wants. This is the core of all our work, say the aktiv which took part in the meeting. Only this will make perestroika irreversible, and will permit us to take a step forward.

Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers Urges Development of Foreign Economic Ties

90U10369A Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
16 Jan 90 p 2

[UzTAG report on session of Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers Presidium: "Uzbekistan and the World: Economic Ties"]

[Text] Several resolutions have been passed in the last 3 years on Uzbekistan's economic, scientific, and technical contacts with foreign countries. Each has played a definite role in the development of different areas of this activity and in solving several organizational problems. More than 90 participants in foreign economic contacts, with the right to conclude agreements, have been registered in the republic. The republic has four foreign economic associations, and new associations for business cooperation, joint ventures, and their branches are being established. Regrettably, the results of this work still do not meet current requirements.

This is why measures for the further improvement and development of the republic's economic ties with foreign

countries were the topic of discussion at a session of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers.

The enhancement of the effectiveness of foreign economic ties will be of special importance to Uzbekistan.

The present system for the management of foreign contacts cannot cover the entire range of functions connected with the guarantee of effective development. The functions of sectorial and territorial bodies in charge of this kind of activity must be reviewed, they must be manned with qualified personnel, and we must have an efficient structure for the management of the republic's economic ties with foreign countries.

At this time the ministries and departments of the Uzbek SSR and the ispolkoms of soviets of people's deputies are making little use of new forms of cooperation—joint ventures with foreign firms, direct production relations, cooperative manufacturing ventures, and the joint development and incorporation of the latest technological processes.

Development projects are already being conducted, and protocols of intention and agreements on the organization of more than 50 joint ventures have already been signed, but as of 1 January only 15 had been established. Not one venture has been established by the State Committee for Agriculture, the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Light Industry, or construction organizations, although they have substantial material and labor resources.

Too little attention is being paid in the republic to the most reliable source of foreign currency—foreign tourism. The monopoly of the former State Committee of the USSR for Foreign Tourism, the consequent indifference of republic organizations, and the underdevelopment of the infrastructure of foreign tourism led to the inadequate use of colossal tourist potential. Each year Uzbekistan is visited by 60,000-70,000 tourists from foreign countries, but foreign currency receipts do not exceed 10 percent of the income from tourism.

Because of this, the recently established Sayekhintur republic association has been asked to work with the ispolkoms of local soviets of people's deputies and with transportation, trade, and construction organizations on the immediate establishment of the republic's own material base. The question of the transfer of the former State Committee for Foreign Tourism's hotels and material assets to republic jurisdiction must be settled.

The development of foreign economic ties is being impeded by the inadequate training of the administrators and specialists of ministries, ispolkoms of local soviets of people's deputies, enterprises, and organizations in this field.

The creation of a system of personnel training and advanced training will necessitate the radical improvement of the material and technical state of the VUZ's educating specialists in foreign relations and the completion of all the arrangements to open a branch of the Foreign Trade Academy in Tashkent.

The republic has no single network of legal and informational support for foreign economic relations. This is why enterprise and organization managers do not have all of the information they need to compete successfully in the world market. The organization of the production of goods meeting the demands of foreign buyers is made impossible by the absence of a competent republic organization to conduct comprehensive market analyses.

Many administrators of branches, enterprises, and oblispolkoms reduce foreign economic ties to an endless chain of "orientation tours" and an absolute waste of foreign currency. Unsupported declarative protocols of intention and even acceptances of agreements on behalf of the republic are being signed. Import goods are being purchased without any particular need for this, and serious violations are committed in the process. The irresponsible use of foreign currency by the Khlopkoprom republic production association led to the acquisition of equipment and goods for secondary needs at a time when agriculture did not have an adequate supply of equipment for the processing and storage of produce and when the level of social and medical amenities in rural areas was extremely low.

We must strive for the considerable expansion of the export base, the organization of direct contract relations with the recipients of cotton in socialist countries, and the creation of a monetary support system for foreign economic ties. In addition, USSR Gosplan and other union bodies must reach a decision on securing currency resources in the convertible rubles allocated for exports of raw cotton to socialist countries on state requisitions and compensating for imported consumer goods and equipment.

This work should be organized mainly by special subdivisions of ministries, oblispolkoms, and enterprises, republic foreign economic organizations, and the Uzbek SSR Foreign Economic Bank.

A decree was passed on the topic of discussion.

It stipulated that the administrators of ministries, departments, enterprises, and organizations in the republic, the Council of Ministers of the Kara-Kalpak ASSR, and the ispolkoms of soviets of people's deputies will be responsible for the effective development of cooperation with foreign countries, the efficient use of foreign currency and imported equipment, and the expansion of the export base.

Problems Facing an Independent Georgia Examined

18130076 Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO
in Georgian No 1, 5 Jan 90 pp 6-7, 10

[Conclusion of article (see LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO No 52, 1989) by Guram Pandzhikidze: "When Passions Boil, the Truth Evaporates. Or, Some Clarifications Concerning One of My Articles"]

[Text] Can Georgia exist independently?

Of course it can!

I do not intend to advance a lot of arguments; I will just adduce one example.

Finland is even smaller than Georgia in terms of population (4.8 million). Natural resources? Georgia is a hundred times richer than Finland, if not more, in terms of God-given resources.

And if Finland can exist independently, why the hell can't Georgia?

Yes, Georgia can. We must also keep in mind, moreover, that a little country like Finland is building 75 percent of the vessels and tankers the USSR orders from abroad! It is even building huge structures, factories, and plants in the USSR. It is exporting to us excellent building materials, first-class furniture, aluminum frames, high-class television sets, refrigerators, sports equipment, and footwear. Even food products, if you can imagine. To say nothing of top-quality paper used in printing. It is also very instructive to note that Finland sends only 18 percent of its exports to the USSR; the rest goes to other countries.

And look how Finnish experts restored the Hotel Metropol in Moscow.

Can we conceive of an independent state that does not have an intelligentsia, peasantry, and working class meeting today's standards? Can any state get along without good janitors, charladies, plumbers, vehicle repairmen, and a thousand other kinds of workers, mechanics and painters, carpenters and masons?

I'm reminded of a story. Israel's Prime Minister Itzhak Shamir was told that there had been a robbery in Tel Aviv. It was the first such case in the newly founded state of Israel. "Well, now we're a real state," Itzhak Shamir said, laughing. "A country that does not have its own thieves and whores cannot be called a state."

The Israeli Prime Minister's joke embodies considerable meaning.

Let us return to our main theme, Georgia's independence.

What is necessary to make the Georgian's dream come true?

A great deal!

First of all, there are a lot of problems to be solved, many concepts to be worked out. Earlier I said that our national movement needs to rise to a new and higher stage, and then higher yet. I repeat, moreover, that every new stage needs to be qualitatively new, more qualified and constructive.

The problems facing the Georgian nation are a great deal more complicated and difficult to solve than those facing the Baltic republics. For one thing, our problems need to be solved by our politicians, scientists, economists, and specialists of various sectors within those sectors. When working out concepts, tactics, and strategies we need to take account of even the smallest details. Otherwise, nothing's going to work.

I will examine just a few of the basic problems whose solutions will require that we take serious thought, exercise judgment, and make correct decisions.

1. First of all, we must determine our internal situation. We must take account of all anticipated or unanticipated misunderstandings. In particular, how will representatives of other nations living in Georgia take to Georgian sovereignty?

There is unrest in Marneuli and in Lower Kartli generally.

At one time, Rustavi served as a buffer between Tbilisi and the Azerbaijani population. Now, however, the picture is as follows: the Azerbaijanis have gradually surrounded Rustavi, crowded toward Tbilisi, and have finally surrounded Tbilisi too. And they have got so arrogant that they have demanded autonomy. They have even selected a fine capital for their "autonomy"—Rustavi!

The Azerbaijanis, Lezghians, and, unfortunately, even the Abkhazians are placing their hopes on Islamic muscle.

How about us?

What can we count on?

We can only count on ourselves. We have no one to help, no protector, either at home or abroad.

We must remember this very well and etch it in our mind: we cannot afford mistakes!

Unfortunately, even our brother Ossetians fail to appreciate our fraternity and friendship. They have launched an all-out, unbridled campaign against us. Recall, for example, at the Congress, prior to the discussion of the 9 April Commission's report, how our former "friend" Nafi Dzhusoiti tried to kick us.

And then there's the Abkhazians. On 15 July 1989 they erupted in hatred and bile toward the Georgian people. Of course, on that date the Abkhazians plunged a dagger into their own back and recorded such a shameful page

in their own history that future generations will never be able to wipe it clean. But the fact remains.

What position will the Abkhazians take in the event that Georgia gains sovereignty?

The answer is clear and unequivocal. In the 4 August edition of *LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO* Abkhazian critic V. Tsvinaria stated directly: "The national movement that has been launched in Georgia aims toward having Georgia secede from the USSR. We Abkhazians are categorically against this, and as long as a single Abkhazian remains alive we will fight to remain within the Soviet Union."

As I have said, the Ossetians immediately imitated the Abkhazians.

And if Georgia gains sovereignty, what position do you think Russia will take toward Abkhazia and Ossetia? Will it not consider their desires and pleas?

Moreover, I definitely do not think that the Abkhazian extremists' latest cycle of assaults, the tragedy in Fergana, and the events in Lower Kartli happened all at once purely by chance. Any more than the biased reporting by the Central press and radio and television is the result of a misunderstanding. You must agree that this shameful package of actions constituted a wagging finger and a box on the ears as a warning to the Georgian nation.

Therefore, when we speak of Georgia's complete independence, we must think about resolving most if not all of our internal problems.

2. What kind of neighborhood do we live in? In particular, whom will a sovereign Georgia be dealing with? With Iran and Turkey, of course.

The Ayatollah Khomeini used to say that Georgia, in particular eastern Georgia, belongs to Iran. It hasn't been very long that the Russians have been confirming Georgia's kings (meaning today's leaders) in Moscow; previously, for centuries, they had to go to Isfahan to be confirmed.

Georgia is not the only territory engraved on the maps of Turkey. The Turks are gazing into the far distance and obviously batting their eyelashes at Central Russia and Central Asia.

We must not consider this phenomenon purely a Turkish phenomenon. Its roots are much deeper, rooted in religion.

Alexander Bennings, the renowned expert on Islam, has this to say: "Islam today represents a force more destructive of communism than of Western democracy. It is first the enemy of the East, then the West." (LG, 20 May 1987.)

According to West German journalist Wilhelm Dietl, "Islam is at present lurking in the wings, but once it

bursts onto the scene and the aggressive fundamentalists rise up, the Kremlin will get a new Poland—this time within its own borders."

This was written several years ago. But the picture has not changed. At the various congresses, deputies from the Soviet Union's Islamic republics almost always represent "an aggressively submissive minority," but here and there they can no longer conceal their intentions.

Here is a quote from an interview in the Lithuanian newspaper *ALGIMAMIS* with one of the ideologists of the Azerbaijan People's Front, Gamid Kherish, a staffer in the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences Institute of Literature: "The Azerbaijan People's Front views the Soviet Union as a dualistic state—Moslem and Christian. Or, more accurately, Turkic-Slavic. Hence, we have tactics which are completely different from those of the Baltics. We don't even discuss the possibility of seceding from the USSR, because that would mean secession from Turkic unity. Secession by the Baltics, however, would be advantageous to us: the USSR would be left with three fewer Christian entities, and the Moslems' influence in the Soviet Union would be even greater. No, secession from the Union would not be advantageous to the Moslems, because it would mean a breakdown in Turkic unity. Azerbaijan, Kirghizia, Kazakhstan, Bashkiria, the Volga region, Tataria, Yakutia, Turkmenia, the Crimea, and the North Caucasus are Turkic lands, and we have no intention of giving them up to anyone" (SOGLASIYE, No 18, 23-30 November 1989).

Naturally, we are by no means of the opinion that the progressive and ordinary people in Turkey, the Soviet Union's Moslem republics, and other Moslem countries think that way, but we must not fail to keep this detail in mind, in particular because the Islamic separatists are also actively involved in the events in Abkhazia. Islamic emissaries are being sent on special missions to Gudauta and Islamic North Caucasia. They have made the tempting proposal that a North Caucasian Islamic Republic be created—to include Abkhazia, naturally. After all, the newly created republic would need its own outlet to the sea!

A number of autonomous oblasts and republics in the North Caucasus have already held constituent congresses. This information was supplied to us very proudly and joyfully by the Gudauta newspaper *BZYP*. There are some people who console themselves with the notion that Turkey is not the same as it used to be. Indeed, much progress has been made. Recently, moreover, the Turks have shown a certain amount of good will toward the Soviet Union. Turkey is on the rise these days. In recent years, our country has established important industrial-economic and political ties with Turkey. Nevertheless, we must always expect the unexpected from an Islamic state. Let us recall how abruptly the situation changed in Iran after the Shah was deposed.... Therefore, we cannot count on other people's changeability today; we can only count on our own strength.

Here is a quote from the 24 July edition of the Turkish newspaper HURRIYET: "In Istanbul recently a press conference was held by the 'North Caucasian Culture Society,' which harshly denounced 'the attacks directed against the Abkhazians, who have become a minority on their own land' [Do you see who's attacking whom?—author's note]. 'The Society' has published a communique which examines the issue in detail in order to inform the Turkish public and the whole world. The communique states, in particular, 'the true owners of Abkhazia—the Abkhazians—were the victims of Stalin's nationality policies. They have been made a minority on their own lands from 1926 to the present day. We are firmly confident that the voice of free conscience will be raised against this shameful situation. We call upon everyone to take a responsible approach to the defense of the rights of individuals and nations.'"

Dear reader, do you see how much these excerpts from an article in a Turkish newspaper resemble the Lykhny Abkhazian letter?

In Turkey they have taken a very dim view of Christian conversions among the Adjarians. And if they have not protested this phenomenon, it's only because they know such a protest would be groundless. Adjaria was the first center of Christianity in Georgia. The Adjarians were forcibly Moslemized as a result of three centuries of Turkish domination.

In short, our neighbors want to surround us Georgians and Armenians with a solid Islamic ring.

Unfortunately, the Armenians do not sense the danger. Instead of making friends with us, they stick with their old habits. I was astounded when I saw the proposal-demand submitted to the USSR Council of Ministers by Armenian deputies. In particular, the Armenians are demanding that Armenia be declared an economic free zone, that an international airport be built in Yerevan, that Armenian millionaires living abroad be given the opportunity to establish big banks in Yerevan and other cities of Armenia, and that Batumi and Poti be turned over to Armenia—yes, Armenia—as its outlet to the sea!

Alas, poor Georgia!

We also have to calculate how willing the Russian Empire is to give us up, or what position will be taken toward us by the United States and the other big countries. How far will they go, for the sake of little Georgia, to annoy big Russia, where democratic processes are underway that are beneficial to them, or Turkey, where their Sixth Fleet is stationed and their military bases are established?

Let us not forget that America and the other Western countries are keenly interested in "perestroika" and are strongly supportive of it. Not because they are interested in our welfare but because they are afraid of the Soviet Empire, which has achieved major success only in the military industry, and they are afraid of us. They're afraid because in this Empire the question of global war

can be decided just as easy—at the whim of two or three men—as the Afghan War was decided. Therefore, they are supporting perestroika and democracy in our country primarily for the sake of their own benefit, which is only natural. Here is a quote from Washington scientist Ed. Hikar in Hamburg's ZEITUNG (ZARUBEZHOM, No 45, 1989). "We would be making a big mistake if we built our foreign policy only on the basis of how to help Gorbachev. The West cannot be mutely interested in the success of 'perestroika' if that 'success' is reflected only in the Soviet Union's becoming an economically and politically strong super-state." I don't think that this is the opinion of the American scientist alone. His words reflect the general attitude toward the Soviet Union.

THE NEW YORK TIMES writes: "The situation in Lithuania could result in a chain reaction. A rational decision must be made. Backing the Soviet Union into a corner is dangerous, because that would make it a more dangerous state. The prospects of the disintegration of the last empire is frightening to the conservative forces in the Land of the Soviets."

Bush, Thatcher, Mitterand, Kohl, and the leaders of other states and their governmental institutions are arranging special conferences, working out concepts on how to deal with the process of Soviet perestroika. They are discussing whether it is best to express great joy or to manifest moderate sympathy. They are seeking ways of expressing their sympathy for perestroika that will not make it look as if they are pushing anything or interfering in our internal affairs.

That's how much our own situation differs from that in the Baltic republics. We must also keep in mind that there are very strong Baltic emigre communities in America, Canada, and Australia. The Lithuanians in Canada were publishing their own encyclopedia when the editorial board was just getting formed in Lithuania.

And I have said nothing about other, less important phenomena which definitely must not be neglected as competent specialists work out the appropriate concepts regarding these matters.

3. What kind of system should a sovereign Georgia have—socialist, capitalist, or something new? Have we sought out and examined any country's political-economic model which, after the appropriate adjustments, might be most consistent with our own country's characteristics, geographic position, ethnic variety, population, and natural resources?

I think that what we need is for specialists in many fields to give a great deal of thought to these matters. They have so many aspects that one or two men cannot decide them.

4. What kind of budget will a sovereign Georgia have? Let's say we were to introduce a Georgian monetary unit and call it by its ancient Georgian name of "tetri" or something like that, and bring it into line with the

American dollar. How many billion Georgian tetris should we mint? Five billion? Seven billion? Ten or twelve? Naturally, I'm assuming that we would have the necessary gold in the safes of the Bank of Independent Georgia.

A very complex problem—one of the most complex, in fact—would be setting salaries and wages. And in doing so, we would have to take account of many criteria. We would have to consider a person's qualifications, the quality and quantity of the goods produced, minimum living costs, the economic status and strength of the country itself, and who knows what else. You have to agree that setting salaries and wages cannot depend only on desires and demands. And they must be set so that honest persons do not take the path of thievery. That a thief should steal is not a misfortune; what is sad is when the social environment makes honest people into thieves. Low wages and salaries have been and remain the source of all the troubles in the Soviet Union.

But merely regulating salaries and wages is also not enough to eradicate thievery. Structures must be created in the workplace itself which will automatically prevent thievery. Just try to imagine any thievery in the companies of Japan, America, or West Germany!

Our financial experts must give a great deal of thought and effort to this problem.

5. The creation, formation, arming, and support of a national army entail a great many difficulties. In addition to the Black Sea Coast, our independent Georgia will have difficult border regions everywhere.

There is one solution apart from stationing border guards along the entire frontier—namely, a sophisticated modern radar system, like one I saw in Israel. Neither America nor Japan has one like it. It was developed by Israel's own scientists. The system is not only sophisticated but also very costly, worth billions of dollars. The necessary equipment is installed in the headquarters at Tel Aviv, where television screens monitor every inch of the border.

When I was in Israel, incidentally—it was in October—Syrian pilot Muhamed Basam Adel landed his MIG-23 at an Israeli military airport and asked for political asylum. The incident greatly disturbed and upset all Israel. How could it happen, they asked, that an enemy aircraft flew over Israeli territory for seven minutes without being detected by all this sophisticated and unique radar equipment? Our defense is not all that reliable after all. The people got jittery and openly demanded the resignation of their military leaders.

I have not mentioned Israel just by the way. Many problems facing them in the past and present will also face an independent Georgia. One of the most vital ones will be a national army, how to arm it and train it to present-day levels. The Israelis declare proudly that 4.5 of their military pilots are a match for 10 Soviet pilots. And they have proved it. In past wars only one Israeli

aircraft has been shot down, versus 40 of the enemy's. They consider the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear power plant, which resulted in no casualties, a unique operation. The missiles fired by the virtuoso Israeli pilots hit their target with millimeter accuracy. You have to agree that if we are to solve the very costly problem of acquiring weapons we are not going to be able to deal with the problem of high-quality training of military specialists in just a couple of years.

There are those who say that we can declare Georgia a neutral country and thus avoid military expenditures.

Of course, independent Georgia ought to become a neutral country, but unfortunately we still won't be able to avoid military spending. Consider Switzerland, for example. Keep in mind that Switzerland is a neutral country which is located in a totally secure part of Europe. Nevertheless, it does have an army that is unusually large for its population, armed with the most up-to-date equipment. The Swiss declare proudly that they can have 625,000 soldiers ready to do battle in 48 hours. Supporting such an army costs a great deal, and for this reason the Swiss recently held a referendum on whether the army was necessary or not. Two thirds of the population and all of the parties except for the socialists were in favor of keeping the army. Moreover, indignation was expressed over why one out of every two persons said no on the question of keeping the army. (IZVESTIYA, 28 November 89.) You have to agree that if a neutral Switzerland in the heart of Europe needs an army, for reasons that are understandable, an independent Georgia will need one even more.

6. How are we to solve the energy problem? In terms of the amount of electrical power per inhabitant today, as you know (about 2600 kilowatts per year), Georgia lags considerably behind the all-union average (about 5200 kilowatts per year).

But that's not the point either. Georgia annually consumes 14.5 million tons of equivalent fuel (oil, gas, coal, and so on), only 2.5 million tons of which is produced in the republic. The other 12 million tons has to be imported. One ton of equivalent fuel costs 35 rubles. An independent Georgia will be forced to buy its fuel with hard currency and at international prices—100 dollars a ton. This means that 12 million tons of fuel will cost an independent Georgia 1.2 billion dollars.

It must also be kept in mind that energy consumption in a normal civilized country rises by almost 7 percent annually. Technical progress and family comfort aside, the construction of high-rises (which is unavoidable in land-short Georgia), the electricity needed to run elevators, and the steady rise in electricity consumption in transport are all inevitable consequences which we cannot escape. Of course, proper planning and organization of industry can release a considerable amount of electricity, but you have to agree that the energy problem will be one of the most complex and difficult ones we face.

7. In any case, Georgia today is an industrial republic. Unfortunately, when the republic's plants and factories were being built no one considered whether a particular factory or plant was necessary or justified. For example, Tbilisi's Electric Locomotive Plant has to get its components from almost 100 Soviet cities.

Is such a plant necessary in a sovereign Georgia?

Of course not!

I could cite many such examples.

The question naturally arises, at this point do we even have a concept worked out accurately (if approximately) by specialists, relating to what kind of factories and plants ought to be built in Georgia after the Electric Locomotive Plant and similar facilities have been dismantled? Of course, an independent Georgia's future factories and plants ought to be run essentially using the republic's own raw materials and resources. Autonomy in raw materials is much more essential and important for a small country. Even in Japan, which is so well supplied with cadres and which "owns the 21st century" (this slogan is virtually worldwide), they are already thinking about what kinds of industry they should develop at the start of the 21st century. They're not only thinking about it, they have already carried out in-depth analyses and mapped out specific goals. In particular, the Japanese have settled upon 14 sectors: aerospace technology, optical fibers, integrated circuits, industrial robots, medical electronics, computers, information systems, industrial ceramics, medicines, new materials, program-memory devices, biotechnology, and precision machine building.

In order to cope with this big task—determine the contours of the future and map out practical plans—the Japanese introduced "smart cities" in 1963, and so far they have spent around 20 billion West German marks to create these cities. In recent years, the number of scientists working in this "idea factory" has risen to 11,000. The Japanese intend to go even further. In 1990 they will start up 14 more "smart cities," and the number of scientists working there will increase to 50,000.

The tasks facing a superpower like Japan, of course, will be different from those facing an independent Georgia, but sooner or later we will have to be aware of the basic directions that will be most beneficial to an independent Georgia, both in terms of manpower, raw materials, and profitability.

Naturally, we cannot replace our present factories and plants with ones more beneficial to us in just one day. We will have to go through a very difficult transition period. We must not forget how much money the all-union ministries have invested in the all-union factories and plants operating in Georgia. Settling all accounts and retiring our debts will not be an easy job. Nor can we leave our workforce and engineering personnel unemployed. Converting from one complicated industrial

system and its associated complicated financial mechanism to another one cannot be accomplished overnight. Nor can we undertake such radical measures without preliminary, in-depth analysis and a well-thought-through, phased plan. For illustration let us imagine the trouble that Rustavi—in fact, the whole republic—would be in if we were to shut down the metallurgy plant all of a sudden! Quite aside from other big facilities located there. You have to agree that Rustavi, a city of 150,000, would be in complete chaos!

The picture in agriculture is relatively clear. The basic sectors are not in doubt. Measures in that sphere will have to take an entirely different direction. Why has the Georgian peasant been cut off from the Georgian countryside? What must we do to return him to the land which nourishes him?

Despite much more difficult natural conditions, Israel has managed to take first place in the world as regards crop yields per hectare! How? How have they managed that?

With organized and dedicated labor, of course, advanced mechanization, by finding markets and negotiating prices. As a result of instituting ideal order in the country and thereby blocking any kind of dishonest and illegal income.

Yes, there can be order and high labor productivity only in a country where the system of wages and salaries has been settled, with a fair and honest remuneration structure, a country where any swindler or dishonest person is harshly condemned and punished to the full extent of the law!

Agriculture is inconceivable today without high-level mechanization and proper cultivation of the land. To take an immediate example, even in the German Democratic Republic there are 550,000 rubles in fixed assets for every 100 hectares of land. In the USSR the figure is 62,000. The Soviet peasant has an average of 32 horsepower at his disposal. The figure is 142 in the United States. This is why the Soviet peasant only produces enough goods for 10 persons; the American produces enough for 67.

These are the things we have to think about and decide in industry and agriculture.

8. Even superpowers today cannot get along without foreign trade. Every country buys and sells a variety of industrial and agricultural goods and products. We need to have program-oriented concepts right now, what we ought to buy and what we ought to sell. How much we ought to buy and how much we ought to sell. Where we ought to buy and where we ought to sell.

As of today (1986 data) the value of goods shipped into the republic exceeds the amount of goods shipped out by 213.6 million rubles (see K. Dadiani, TBILISI, 1 July 89).

Most of the goods coming into Georgia come from the other Soviet republics, although imports add up to 18.2 percent of all goods shipped in. However, light and food industry imports add up to 35.5 and 35.6 percent, respectively.

Our main supplier is Russia, from which we import 51.4 percent (by sectors: 64.4 percent of electricity, 80.7 percent of machine building items, and 57.2 percent of the fuel industry).

The consumption of food products in Georgia today lags badly behind recommended norms.

In 1988, for example, there were 33 kilograms of meat produced in the republic for every inhabitant, versus the normal 67 kilograms. Despite subsidies, meat consumption has not risen to the recommended norm; it stands at only 72 percent of the norm.

Unfortunately, the figure will decline even further by the year 2000 (if everything continues as it is today, of course). To be sure, it is estimated that the increase in the republic's meat production will rise by 1.5 times, but per capita consumption (counting tourists and vacationers) will still not exceed 55 kilograms annually, versus 67 kilograms. This also assumes that normal subsidies will be maintained.

We must also keep in mind that goods brought in from the Soviet Union are paid for by ordinary, nonconvertible rubles, and are quite cheap. A sovereign Georgia will have to acquire the same goods much more dearly and with hard currency.

Of course, we also will be selling our goods for hard currency and will achieve a kind of financial balance, but that is far from an easy process. We won't be able to sell anything that does not meet world standards.

Today the main buyer for our goods is the Soviet Union, where our tea, wine, cognac, vodka, and many other products are purchased whether they are of good quality or not. But that same Russia, once we begin to trade in hard currency and are no longer satisfied with Soviet paper money, will refuse to trade with us unless we provide them with high-quality goods in excellent bottles, nicely wrapped and with nicely printed labels attached. For hard currency they can get the same products from other countries.

There is another thing we must keep in mind. It takes a huge amount of advertising to get established in the world market. And, as you know, advertising itself takes a lot of money.

9. Many people think that one of the biggest sources of hard currency is the tourist industry. I totally agree with those who think that, but unfortunately a tourist industry is fatal to a country as small as Georgia. Remember that in the Soviet Union, there are 1.5 service persons for every vacationer. Now consider the services

needed for tourists from the rich capitalist countries. It will take a minimum of two service persons for every vacationer.

This is quite apart from the standards we must meet in our hotels, sanatoria, and vacation homes, however exotic and attractive our tourist itineraries are. It is quite apart from the standards that must be met by our cultural and medical services in order for us to attract the kind of vacationers from the capitalist countries who can turn our tourist industry into a hotbed of hard currency.

We must also determine accurately how many tourists Georgia can accommodate at once. We need to determine the capacity we want sovereign Georgia's resort tourist industry to have in order not to damage our countryside, our cities, our culture, and our science—in short, in order not to become a country of waiters and hotel maids, in order not to allow our highly cultured country to become a huge hotel.

10. I want to talk about another complex and vital problem—namely, schooling and education.

Conditions are changing rapidly in the world today. The boys and girls in kindergartens and schools today, the young men and women going to college—how well are we preparing them for the 21st century in terms of psychology and knowledge? Unfortunately, our higher education programs are not even coping with the tasks of today, let alone tomorrow. Between 1981 and 1985, 19 percent of college graduates and 55 percent of technical school graduates (totalling 55,000 young people) were not placed in jobs according to their specialties. This leads us to one conclusion: we lack cadre orientation almost entirely, we lack forecasting. For a long time we boasted that we Georgians led the world in the percentage of college graduates. That may be so, but it is clear now that our college graduates are not even at the level of technicum graduates.

How are we supposed to manage an independent Georgia with cadres like that? As I said before, we must immediately map out the basic directions of industry and agriculture in an independent Georgia, concepts of their development. We must immediately work out concepts of an army, an energy complex, exports and imports, and cultural and diplomatic relations. Only then can we be properly oriented as to how to restructure education and learning in Georgia, what cadres will be most essential to Georgia.

Let me refer to Israel once more by way of example. I must say most definitely that young people of 14 or 15 are on the same level as our college graduates in terms of education. They are fully proficient with computers, specialized disciplines, and foreign languages. This is quite apart from love of labor and discipline. Along with it, they have perfectly mastered the military arts, because any Israeli youngster, of whatever profession, is at the same time a soldier. That is why this small country has achieved the impossible in the sphere of technology

development. In the development of laser systems, aviation electronics, radar systems, navigation instruments, medicine, and certain sectors of agriculture, Israel is ahead of America and Japan.

What is the basis of the world-acclaimed success of the Japanese? Perhaps people think that it is based purely on workers' high qualifications, honest and dedicated labor, and excellent production organization? It is, of course, based on all three. But we must also not lose sight of the big role played by education in that success.

Education has risen to such a level in Japan that children have all but lost their childhood. They have a well known admonition there: "If you only sleep four hours, you'll pass the exams; if you sleep five hours, you'll fail!"

In Japan they also have what are known as "hell camps," that is, managers' schools where 17-hour school days really are hellish. In addition to acquiring a good education, the purpose of the schooling is to instill total loyalty to the management and inculcate endurance in very complex situations. The school day in such institutions begins... at 4:30!

The Americans, British, and Germans attach great importance to the quality of education. When Yuriy Gagarin became the first human in space in 1961, panic gripped the entire advanced capitalist world. In America they quickly set up a special presidential commission that came to the following conclusion: the Soviet Union has passed up the Americans in terms of the level of education. A real education boom was launched in the West. The renowned London Open University was founded, spending on education skyrocketed, and the material base of education was improved with each passing day.

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA wrote: "Major foreign firms have set up their own systems for cadre training and retraining. There are specialized educational institutions and teaching staffs to provide annual upgrading of qualifications for 75-78 percent of executives, specialists, and workers in modern sectors of production. The companies are allocating 15 percent of their expenditures for these purposes. In the field of adult education, private businesses under contract to plants and institutions are flourishing. Private firms are planning and managing the education process" (2 December 1987).

How do things stand here in Georgia?

You know as well as I do what the quality of education is in our schools and colleges. Hardly half of the classes are being held lately.

Let us not console ourselves by presuming that we can first achieve independence and then go to school. If we want to achieve independence and keep it, we will have to study, and study diligently!

An independent Georgia will need a different culture, a different education, and a different intellect!

To ignore this elementary truth will be a fatal mistake!

There are plenty of other problems that will have to be solved. If you think about independent Georgia for a moment, it will only have road connections with the Soviet Union and Turkey. All it will have for communications with the world will be aviation and the Black Sea, which, in turn, will pose particular problems for Georgia.

Let us recall that Georgia must annually import 12 million tons of fuel, 2 million tons of wheat, one million tons of dairy products, 1.7 million cubic meters of timber and lumber, and who knows what else, and let us also calculate how much we will have to export.

Most of the freight shipped into and out of Georgia goes by rail (according to 1985 data, 13.487 million ton-kilometers). Automotive transport also accounts for a lot of shipping, although it is mostly on routes within the republic (6.966 million ton-kilometers). Aviation's role in freight turnover is still rather small.

We must also remember that so far most of the freight turnover is with the republics of the USSR. If Georgia becomes sovereign, the country's freight-turnover geography will increase greatly, and the role of aviation and maritime transport will also rise, which by themselves will give rise to many problems.

I should like to focus the reader's attention—especially young people's attention—on one more problem. According to the 1979 census (unfortunately, the results of the last census have not yet been published), the Azerbaijanis are reproducing much faster than the Georgians (27.9 per thousand). The Georgians' reproduction rate is deplorable—only 17.5 per thousand.

That's not the main point. The Azerbaijanis have a very low death rate, so that their natural increase—22.2 per thousand—is 2.5 times that of the Georgians. As a result, the decline in the percentage of young Georgians among the population has resulted in an aging society. In 1959, 56.6 percent of our society consisted of young people; in 1972 the figure had dropped to 51.2 percent. I am certain that the figure is much worse today.

The reproduction problem is aggravated further by all the shameful and deplorable cases of broken homes. In fact, they can no longer be called merely "cases"—they have become a trend, one which is weakening the nation. In 1950 there were only 427 divorces in the republic; in 1986 there were 6667! Quite apart from reproduction, this has left its stamp on the souls and minds of children brought up in broken homes.

You must agree, then, that we will face many problems, but the purpose of this article is not to list them and map out ways to solve them. I simply wanted to show that achieving independence is not an easy matter. And that we will not accomplish our goal in just one or two days.

It is for this reason that I favor parliamentary means of achieving independence.

I may be wrong, but I say once again that achieving political independence is easier than achieving economic independence. Unless the country has achieved economic independence, its political independence will immediately be merely symbolic. The nation will again be in thrall to foreign capital. There are many examples of this in the world.

Unless an independent Georgia manages to become a country of highly developed science, culture, industry, and agriculture, it will never become a partner of the highly developed countries but will have to be content with the role of supplicant.

There are many examples of this in the world too.

What are we to do, then?

I spoke earlier of concepts that need to be worked out, and it may even be too late. In the future we really won't be able to afford to waste any more time. Of course, our press is publishing excellent articles by qualified authors, along with roundtable materials. Television and radio are broadcasting talks by scientists and specialists. But these are merely individual opinions which need to be correlated, deliberated, analyzed, and shaped into a system. Therefore, we must immediately set up an organizing and coordinating center and create competent commissions which will correctly forecast and professionally and knowledgeably explore all these problems which confront us along the difficult and long path to sovereignty.

An organizing and coordinating committee must determine accurately just **WHAT WE WANT**. But that's not enough either! Such commissions must show us **HOW** to accomplish **WHAT WE WANT**.

There are a number of sectors that could be independent right today. This independence, of course, would not be the kind that is meant by the term "sovereign Georgia," but you must agree that it would be independence.

For a start, consider the Georgian Academy of Sciences.

Why shouldn't the Georgian Academy of Sciences be independent?

Why should our scientists' dissertations have to go to Moscow to be approved?

Are we not able to create some organization, scientific councils, which can evaluate Georgian scientists' research objectively and professionally?

Shouldn't the Georgian Academy of Sciences be free of all interference from above, the pressure of some general plan (or lack of plan), in determining those branches of science which the Georgian people and full sovereignty are most in need of?

Again, why shouldn't the Georgian Education Ministry be independent? Why do the exact same scientific disciplines need to be studied in our schools and colleges as

in, for example, Russia? Why should Moscow determine our programs, methodological literature, and textbooks? Why should the Center define our faculties and determine in advance how many specialists the republic requires, and in which fields?

Forecasts of this sort are made because of the great number of plants and associations under all-union jurisdiction in the republic. Do you suppose they have specific, accurate forecasts of how many specialists they need themselves?

Unfortunately, complete chaos reigns in this field.

Let me cite one example. In 1986, USSR Gosplan revised the republic plan downward by 1600 specialists (34 percent) for the factories, plants, and associations located in the republic.

Why was that?

Because Gosplan itself is the financier, and so, for totally unjustified economic reasons, it strictly limits the number of specialists and ignores real needs. What is astonishing is that USSR Gosplan has a long-range forecast to the year 2000 which calls for a substantial increase in industry. That it has forecasts is not surprising; it is to be welcomed, in fact. What is surprising is that despite these forecasts, when it comes to a specific five-year plan the all-union ministries, in order not to inconvenience themselves, plan much more modest industrial growth rates. For this reason, advance forecasts and the actual needs of the five-year plan do not coincide at all.

Dear reader, please take a good look at this phenomenon. The Center is powerless to deal with its cadre policy. That's the first deplorable conclusion. Now let's look at another factor. On the merry-go-round of all those all-union cadre policies, is the national factor taken account of anywhere?

No, it's not!

This is why only 64.9 percent of specialists in Georgia are working in their specialties. Last year, for the first time, a special-purpose program to train specialists was launched, and 189 students were enrolled in the appropriate departments on the basis of contracts with production organizations.

You have to agree that we would get quite a different picture if the Georgian Ministry of Education independently decided matters of specialist training and education generally.

Why couldn't the Georgian Ministry of Culture have absolute independence right now? Why should the fate of our culture depend on the Center's bureaucrats? Perhaps you know how many gifts it takes for every creative troupe to travel abroad. Perhaps you are aware of what percentage of hard currency they toss to us out of our own earnings. Incidentally, the insidious practice of having the Georgian film studio's approved screenplays

examined and approved in Moscow has not yet been abolished. In fact, the Georgian film studio used to be monitored by a woman known as Zuseva. She used to come down to Tbilisi like a fickle princess and hand our approved screenplays to us. In order to win her heart, they even awarded her the title of Honored Figure in Georgian Culture (or, Art).

We saw similar things—and worse ones—in Gosizdat [State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade]. The petty functionaries of USSR Goskomizdat so easily riddled the publishing plans we compiled that we didn't even have time to object. They even complained about our poets, asking why we were including so many poetry collections in our plan. They didn't even want to hear about books dealing with Georgia's history and cultural past.

The question arises: why shouldn't Georgia's Goskomizdat be an independent committee? Don't we know better what to publish and what not to publish?

Again, why shouldn't Georgia's State Sports Committee be independent? Why shouldn't Georgian athletes take part in world events in the name of Georgia? How many Georgian athletes would win medals in Olympic, world, and European competitions if Georgia could send its national teams to international events?

We must start immediately to purchase the all-union sanatoria, vacation homes, and tourist bases that are located on the republic's territory. This is not an easy thing, to be sure, and it will take a lot of money, but it's not impossible. In any case, the process ought to start right now. Georgia itself ought to determine how many vacationers and tourists to invite from the Soviet Union or from foreign countries. From the national standpoint, as we have said above, tourism is a very dangerous industry for the smaller nations, and we must keep complete control of it.

There is one problem we must solve no matter what it takes—all of our young men must perform their compulsory military service in Georgia. We are all well aware of the source of the anti-Georgian mentality that now prevails in the army. I will not pursue this topic further here, but I must state categorically that we must do everything necessary to ensure that our sons are not sent to the all-union slaughterhouse.

When Georgian young people perform their compulsory military service within Georgia, it will mark the beginning of the creation of a Georgian national army.

There are many other sectors and spheres, specific branches of production and agriculture, in which we could achieve independence right now, but it is not my purpose to list them here.

The main thing is for Georgia to launch a tireless struggle to achieve cultural and economic independence, a struggle that is well-planned, well analyzed, and based on real circumstances.

Full economic and cultural independence will constitute an intermediate link by which we will have only military and diplomatic relations with the USSR. At this stage, the Georgian nation will achieve a high level of development, increased labor productivity, and high quality agriculture and industry.

From there it will be but one step to full independence!

Dear readers!

I know in advance that some people will like my article and some will not. It will be especially displeasing to those who can call you up in the middle of the night and curse and abuse you, or label you a traitor to your motherland at some rally!

Not long ago I learned from a television broadcast that there are 107 parties and associations in Georgia.

I have to say frankly that that seems excessive. But what right do I have to disbelieve Mr. Lovard Tukhashvili?

And if there really are 107 parties and associations in Georgia, it means that there are 107 positions, opinions, and concepts regarding the aforementioned problems.

I respectfully ask readers to consider this article the final—108th—position!

Aspects of Tbilisi Demonstrations Recounted

18130065A Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO
in Georgian No 3, 19 Jan 90 p 7

[Article by Nino Kvitashvili and Gia Tasoyev: "Uncompromising and Just...."]

[Text] A protest demonstration has been going on in front of the republic's Government House for more than two weeks now. A tense social-political situation has developed in the republic recently. The events in Inner Kartli have served as a catalyst; protest rallies, manifestations, and strikes have made things extremely tense.... One of the organizers of the demonstration, Georgian National Independence Party Chairman Irakli Tsereteli, had this to say:

"On 5 January 1990, under the leadership of the Georgian National Independence Party and the Monarchist Party (Merab Iashvili, Vasiko Khomeriki, Ruslan Mikaberidze, and Irakli Tsereteli from the National Independence Party, and Gia Khonelidze, Zviad Bokuchava, and Temur Zhorzholiani from the Monarchist Party), the concrete barrier was taken down. A sit-down demonstration was staged demanding Georgian independence. The reason for the demonstration was that there was the danger that new massive bloodshed would start between Georgians and Ossetians in Tbilisi and elsewhere in Georgia. Mass mental trauma was caused by the horrifying incident that took place in Tskhinvali—the killing of a nine-month-old child. The national liberation movement believes that the main issue, which must be the focus of all our effort, is the restoration of

Georgia's state independence. Hence, the demonstration that was started on 5 January and took on massive scope served to avoid inevitable bloodshed. In addition, progressive forces all over the world once more witnessed a proclamation of the Georgian nation's will, a nation which wants political sovereignty. After 6 January 1990, the demonstration launched by the National Independence Party and the Monarchist Party was joined by the various parties and organizations of the Main Committee for Georgian National Salvation, whose representatives declared a hunger strike to demand restoration of Georgia's state independence. Georgia's capital city was enveloped in a new wave of general strikes and demonstrations. For several days now, huge demonstrations have been staged in front of Government House, and a number of enterprises have gone on strike. Municipal transport shut down for three days. The demonstration has been joined from several of Georgia's outlying districts as well. In short, these freezing days of January have witnessed a new, strong repetition of the days of April—with the difference that so far there has been no pogrom. Representatives of the Main Committee for National Salvation are demanding that representatives of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo come to Georgia to hold a principled dialogue with leaders of the national liberation movement. Such a meeting must be broadcast on television and be reported in the Central Press. Our goal is to see the Georgian nation's vital interests satisfied and the country's restoration of the independence that was taken from it by Bolshevik Russia, along with the democratic system and multi-party structure that were established during the wonderful three-year period of Georgia's independence. We believe that we will accomplish our end goal through implacable, uncompromising, just struggle, but it will depend on whether the Georgian people can bear the cross God has given them to carry up their own Golgotha. In his last public appearance at the public demonstration on 11 October, national hero Merab Kostava bequeathed to us these magical words: "either victory or death; there will be no turning back. May God be our protector. Long live independent Georgia!"

Last Sunday, the seventh day of the hunger strike, the first group of hunger strikers took Communion in the Kashueti Church and were replaced by others (the groups of hunger strikers are replaced once a week). It is worth noting that the ranks of the CPSU and the Komsomol are being deserted by masses of citizens, although, of course, attitudes toward the demonstration are not uniform among the population.

As we know, the informal associations had intended to hold a referendum on the following issue: Do the people of the republic want the question of restoring Georgia's state independence and territorial integrity submitted to institutions of international law? The informal associations believe that the Center and the local authorities are deliberately thwarting this possibility by organizing continual ethnic crises. At the demonstration it has been stated more than once that the political organizations of

Georgia's national liberation movement recognize only lawful, peaceful means of struggle—but not parliamentary, because they think that the establishment of a multi-party system on an official basis in Georgia should take place only after the "Red Army" leaves our borders. The restoration of Georgia's independence should not take place on the basis of Article 72 of the USSR Constitution, which provides for a union republic's secession, but on the basis of norms of international law. Russia must recognize the 7 May Treaty, the fact of Georgia's occupation and annexation, and restore the Georgian Democratic Republic within the boundaries and with the territorial integrity which Russia recognized *de facto* and *de jure* (independent Georgia's territory used to be 93,000 square kilometers; now it is only 70,000). Therefore, the organizations of the Main Committee for National Liberation are calling upon the Georgian people to boycott the Soviet elections, because taking part in the elections is tantamount to an official, juridical recognition of the annexation. Because the government itself acknowledges that elections have been undemocratic until now, under today's comparatively democratic conditions the people's participation in the elections would be tantamount to legal recognition of Georgia's present status (it should also be kept in mind that the government of independent Georgia never did sign any capitulation).

The situation in Georgia today is still highly charged and explosive. When we consider Georgia's geopolitical position and the current events in Transcaucasia and, in general, the extraordinary situation in the whole country, we are still walking a tightrope. Therefore, we must manifest political perspicuity and an unerring sense of history (we must not forget the lessons of history) so that historic cataclysms may not place the Georgian people's national consciousness and spiritual revival once more in jeopardy.

The situation has become extremely tense lately in Inner Kartli. Something happened which, quite frankly, the Georgian people could hardly have imagined. The reason for the confrontation is the political mistakes committed by the government over decades, mistakes which, of course, cannot be rectified in a short period of time.

Therefore, we must do everything we can now to assess the situation in an in-depth, realistic manner and take special measures to change the political climate in that district quickly for the better. Some of the Georgian people who have come down from Tskhinvali and nearby villages (mainly women) have started a protest demonstration in the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee building, a demonstration which is continuing now. They have submitted the following demands:

1. Abolition of the illegally created South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast;
2. Liquidation of the Roki Tunnel;

3. Institution of legal measures against the leaders of Adamon Nikhas;
4. Confiscation of weapons from the population—regardless of nationality, of course;
5. A public trial of the murderer of the nine-month-old child;
6. Radical revision of cadre policies in order to rectify mistakes in that regard;
7. Finally, convening of an extraordinary session of the Georgian Supreme Soviet to discuss and resolve all these issues.

On 12 January, participants in the demonstration met with Georgian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary and Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman Givi Gumbaridze, who promised them that he will do everything to settle these problems. He added, however, that it involves a great many difficulties, and hence resolving these problems will take a certain amount of time.

However, policies of concession and neglect, and the ignoral of anti-Georgian processes, have brought the public to the point of despair. The first symptoms of the tenseness of the situation appeared after 9 April. "They celebrated our national tragedy, and that, of course, was highly insulting and painful to us," they say. There was one case when Kekhvi Secondary School Teacher Roza Margiyeva told the Georgian girls in her classes, "Those black armbands are very becoming; you ought to keep wearing them." And the celebration of 26 May was marred by public attacks and insults against Georgian national flags in an extremely tense atmosphere of interethnic strife.

The oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee] session's decision in early November to make the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast into a republic and proclaim Ossetian as the state language, which was naturally greeted by mass rallies and celebrations, intensified the situation to a critical point (we should also add that the Ossetian population was on strike for two and a half months, and there were protest rallies every day). Not a week went by that some excess did not take place. The leaders of Adamon Nikhas even took part in the 7 November parade.

All of this, naturally, evoked an understandable reaction by the Georgian population. The peaceful protest and rally of 23 November were in fact an attempt to defuse the tense situation and restore historical justice.

How things have gone in Inner Kartli since then is something that the public at large is more or less informed about.... Therefore, the participants in the protest demonstration are demanding that a reinforced contingent of Georgian MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] troops be brought in—to Tskhinvali in particular, where the Ossetian population constitutes the

majority. They have also noted that transport traffic from Tskhinvali to the Georgia villages has become heavier.

Another disquieting incident has been reported in recent days: Nana Tskhovrebova-Skhirtladze of the village of Kurta was taken to Tskhinvali to have her baby. Ossetian pickets would not allow her to enter the city, and this woman in labor was forced to turn back. Her newborn baby died five hours later.

The tragedy that took place in Prisi, in the Nikorishvili family, was preceded by an incident in which the head of the family was questioned by persons of Ossetian nationality as to his position, which side he took. Receiving an unsatisfactory answer, they left making threats.

In conversation with us, members of the group who came down to Tbilisi stated that it is essential to determine the identity of all persons guilty of these crimes in order to ensure that their sense of immunity does not lead to even more regrettable consequences.

In the waiting room of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee we met with Mr. Zviad Gamsakhurdia, who said that meeting the demonstrators' demands as soon as possible must constitute a guarantee of the normalization and stabilization of the situation in this ancient district of Georgia and the protection of the Georgian population's rights.

For a week now a group of persons from Aspindza Rayon have been staging a sit-down protest in front of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee building. The strikers are demanding the immediate dismissal of Dzhumbar Maruashvili, the newly elected First Secretary of the Aspindza Raykom [rayon party committee]. In conversation with us, Aspindza People's Front member Tsisana Lazarashvili made serious charges against him relating to violations Maruashvili committed when he was working as chairman of the Aspindza Rayispolkom [rayon soviet executive committee]. The Aspindzians are demanding that an objective commission be set up, with the participation of the republic's social organizations, to make an on-the-spot study of Maruashvili's actions.

Georgians Polled on Leaders, Ossetia, National Movement

18130080A Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI
in Georgian 20 Jan 90 pp 3, 6

[Interview with Professor Solomon Khutsishvili, Olympic champion Roman Rurua, and Elva Association Trade Union Committee Chairman Omar Grigolashvili by Tsitsino Mchedlishvili: "Who?"]

[Text] There's just one thing I'm afraid of: those people who do the most talking at rallies and who offer the most detailed and authoritative proposals—aren't they the most likely to have doubts about the correctness of their own ideas?

Another thing I'm afraid of: The bigger the rallies get to be, the more speakers there are—doesn't that lead to increased distrust toward everyone and everything?

I'm afraid of despair, and I'm even more afraid that a split might develop in Georgia's foremost and final hope—the national movement.

I have a lot of questions. I go around asking for answers.

My questions take me to this place and that, they lead me to one person and then another.

One thing I've determined: Fear—many Georgians have become fearful. They avoid speaking their mind. They're afraid of being labeled a traitor if they say the wrong thing. It seems to me that this fear, as in a bad dream, smothers common sense.

To allow that would be fatal.

Yesterday I met three Georgians and asked them three questions:

1. Who is running Georgia today?
2. What would you do if you became the President of Georgia today?
3. Who should be leading the national movement in Georgia?

Professor Solomon Khutsishvili:

1. Uncontrolled processes are taking place in Georgia today. The official authorities can't cope with the situation, because the local government is being thwarted by some other power. I personally have nothing against our CC [Central Committee] secretary. For one thing, he used to be my student, and I remember how sincere he was. I also recall his sincerity from personal meetings with him recently, but something much more is needed.... I know he really wants to keep his promises to us, but some force won't let him. The government at least ought to enforce the laws it has promulgated. What do I have in mind? The guilty must be punished. It's wrong to call the events in Ossetia political. Crimes have been committed there. The same kind of mass murders that took place in Abkhazia are now being continued in Samachablo—crimes, pure and simple! Unless the guilty are punished, these things will continue. If there is any law, it should be enforced!

Stabilization will not come just by talking about it. Something occurred to me this morning. When they caught the persons selling poison canisters they announced that they were prosecuting them—but what happened next, why don't they tell us anything? Was it just a diversion? Why is everything kept concealed? I repeat, the guilty must be punished right away, immediately, in Abkhazia, Ossetia, or wherever!

2. Above all, I demand an accounting of anyone who has trespassed against the law in any way! I would certainly abolish the autonomous formations! Unfortunately, it is

impossible to declare independence all at once, otherwise... It can't be done because—well, you know the old saying, if you want to do big things you have to have plenty of the right stuff.... Liberation will take a lot of effort and plenty of the right stuff. At any rate, I would stick with the idea of independence and liberation. It won't come all at once, of course, but I'd stick with it!

3. What is essential in any great popular movement is one idea and firmness. We have lots of dedicated young people, but that doesn't mean that everyone's dedication embodies sound ideas. Dedication is essential, but so is shrewdness and good reasoning. Intelligent persons have always played a big role in such movements. I would ask the intelligentsia to be more vigilant, to weigh and evaluate every event, because the intelligentsia can do a great deal and must take responsibility. The water always gets stirred up in circumstances like these. And when the water gets stirred up, all kinds of froth and scum rise to the surface. Only a solidly united intelligentsia has the ability—and the obligation—to do great things with the least possible casualties. What is needed now is firmness, unity. A number of different parties have been created these days, just like during the era of the conspiracy of 1832: there were those who wanted to restore the old ways, others who demanded a tsar limited by a parliament, and still others who wanted a republic. It was that diversity of opinions that defeated the conspiracy, and the Decembrists' uprising was defeated for the same reason.

In this movement now, it seems to me that Akaki Bakradze has the most reasonable and firm logic. He is very observant and knowledgeable....

Roman Rurua, Olympic champion:

1. Our present government is confused. So is the real working class. The situation is so chaotic that processes have become difficult to control. The present government is in trouble. So many parties have been formed and are rushing all over the place, they ought to join together in the National Salvation Committee and help our government advance the national cause together. The head of our government is a reasonable man, but he is under pressure from Moscow. In his position, of course, anybody would be the same. Since we elected him, let's give him some time. He needs to be shrewd and cautious. What I'm most afraid of is a military coup. If that happens, all is lost. So we need to help the government out a little, so that this country doesn't fall. We cannot cut ourselves off from the world that we are bound to. Cutting ties with Russia will not do us much good, even though Russia has done us great moral harm. The party ought to back off a little too. A multi-party system is inevitable, but it always ought to be in the service of one thing: the national question. The processes that are underway need to be continued to the end, but in a reasonable manner. What about all these strikes, what good do they do us? If they did benefit us in some way, I wouldn't go to the plant at all, but I'm reasonable. Work, honest sweat, schooling—that's what we need!

Wealth has to be created, after all. What can we do to beef up our national struggle? Well sir, our enterprise is building a house for an Adjarian family in Tetrtskaro Rayon, we contributed 5000 rubles to the charity fund that Nona Gaprindashvili is the president of, now we're going to give 10,000, and we're supposed to contribute some more money to the Rustaveli Society to purchase a house. We're also supposed to build a high-rise for the workers of the enterprise. We just finished remodeling the plant and can't afford to be that generous any more. So I ask you, if we go on strike, attend rallies, and don't work, who's going to give us money? Tell me: will Georgia benefit more from us going on strike or from working harder in order to promote the national movement?

I got off the subject. We were talking about the government. What with the situation so bad in Ossetia, I'm really surprised by the government's inaction. Don't we know who did it? What's the KGB [Committee for State Security] or the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] supposed to be for? Doesn't Soviet authority exist in Ossetia? I wouldn't call the Ossetian extremists' behavior political. When they foment conflict between peoples and shed blood, they've committed a crime, and they ought to pay for it with their own life! I'm surprised at our government; why do they hold back? People are very angry at our leadership, and if things go on like this they'll lose our trust altogether.

2. I would abolish the autonomous formations; that position is inevitable. We would have done it by now except we're afraid of Moscow. I would abolish them, and once they were an inseparable part of Georgia I would tell anyone who didn't want to live with us to just get out. Then we'd see how tough they were.

I would carry through these processes to the end—to Georgian independence.

I would act boldly against the people who have shed innocent blood. They're not political prisoners, they're murderers. I would charge them on the basis of the results.

3. Day before yesterday, some young guy came to me and said, stop the plant, go on strike. I asked him who he was and he said he was a member of the Monarchist Party. That made me mad. I can't understand all these parties they're creating. Who is the nation's champion today? What's this about a monarchy? All we have in Georgia now is anarchy. How can anyone talk of consolidation? One guy tells me to work harder, another tells me not to work, still another asks for money.... The country's going to hell! But I have to say that there is no turning back, if someone will only take charge of these processes. What has happened to our culture, our foresight that we used to be so proud of? Is the national movement going to fall into the hands of people who have nothing, who don't want to work or to go to school? We must not let such people take charge.

Merab Kostava gave his life for the national cause, fought for it to the end, and never turned back, but he is no longer with us. I believe in Zviad Gamsakhurdia. He's a good man, the son of a good father, I don't think he'll go wrong. But what are we going to do about all these parties yelling different things?

What about the National Salvation Committee? Everyone ought to join it, listen to one another, share their ideas, and lead us on.

Omar Grigolashvili, trade union committee chairman in the Elva Production Association and head of the Samtskhe [Meskhetia]-Dzhavakhetia Revival Committee:

1. Given the situation, the system is such that our government is in crisis. At any rate, we have yet to receive an answer to a single one of our demands. For this reason, our Association was the first one in the republic that went on strike. These are our demands: abolition of the Ossetian Autonomous Oblast, dissolution and prosecution of Adamon Nikhas, a general expose of the crimes committed by those extremists, and punishment of the guilty. These demands have been endorsed not only by the Association's Georgians but also by the Ossetians, Armenians, and Azerbaijanis. They have even sent messages to Mikhail Gorbachev, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, and the National Salvation Committee. We believe that people of any nationality who live in Georgia and have no opinion of their own regarding current processes are potential enemies of Georgia. Georgians have had fewer privileges in Georgia than anyone. And now what happens? People who have been nurtured on our land have now stuck a knife in our throat.

2. If I were President, I would abolish all the autonomous formations in Georgia, I would form national troop units and create all the conditions necessary for Georgians to spread their wings and prove their talents, energy, and capabilities. I would demand the return of all the Georgian territories that have been taken from us illegally. I would facilitate the return of those among the 193,000 Georgians whom we failed to help and thus compelled to leave the republic.

Most of all, I would stand with the people and demand Georgia's independence!

3. The national movement ought to be spearheaded by the National Salvation Committee, with Zviad Gamsakhurdia as its leader.

Georgian Draftees Turn to People's Front

90US0668A Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
27 Feb 90 p 4

[Letter to editors from Dzhemal Dzhikiya, chairman of the Georgian People's Front Commission for Military Service and Training: "The Agreement Must Be Honored"; passages in boldface as published]

[Text] A crime was committed some time ago in one of the military subunits stationed in Stavropol Kray.

Koba Gvazdhaya, a young man from Georgia who was serving in the Armed Forces, was killed in an inter-ethnic conflict. We still have no reason to doubt that the people who committed the crime will be prosecuted and will receive the maximum penalty. The symptoms of the disease with which the army has been stricken have recently been increasingly apparent. We are receiving reports in the republic of the intolerant treatment of young recruits from Georgia.

Several privates, all of them from Georgia (some from the same subunit where the crime was committed and others from neighboring subunits), had to leave their military subunits because they were afraid of being harassed after they heard the news of their countryman's tragic death and appealed to the Georgian People's Front. Soon their commanding officers also addressed us with a request to convince the soldiers to return to their subunits.

In this situation, because we had no firm guarantees of the safety of our young men, we had to reach a compromise: All of the soldiers who left their subunits will continue serving in the Armed Forces, but only on republic territory. An order issued by a subunit commander, Officer Yu. Raykhlin, obligates commanding officers to "effect the release and transfer in the established manner before 28 February 1990 and to report on the execution of the order." We are certain that the precise fulfillment of this order will be reported on schedule.

Georgian Social Democrats Hold Congress

90US0667A Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
25 Feb 90 p 3

[Article by Eka Eliava: "Seven Principles at the Basis"]

[Text] The Fifth Congress of the Social Democratic Party of Georgia began yesterday, on 24 February, in the assembly hall of the republic Tsodna society.

This was not a completely ordinary congress. It marked the revival of the Social Democratic Party, which declared the independence of the national state of Georgia on 26 May 1918, on a qualitatively new basis and the return of the party to the historic arena.

The congress was called to order by Professor Guram Muchaidze, member of the organizing committee of the Georgian SDP. A tape of the national anthem of independent Georgia of 1918-1921 was played, and congratulatory telegrams, received from various cities in the USSR and from abroad, particularly from Mamiy Berishvili in France, the secretary of the overseas bureau of the Georgian SDP, were read. Incidentally, it was also here at the congress that the news that party members from Georgia Guram Muchaidze, Vazha Shubitidze, and

Dzhemal Kakhniashvili had been invited to become members of the bureau was reported.

The SDP congress was attended by 169 delegates from Tbilisi and various parts of the republic and also by 230 other participants. The congress guests included members of the social democratic parties of Hungary, Estonia, Latvia, Azerbaijan, Moscow, and Leningrad. They are united with Georgian Social Democrats by the ideals of freedom, justice, and solidarity for which, as Ferenc Kurdi from Hungary said in his speech, all of the social democratic parties are fighting.

A political report on the "Social Democratic Alternative" was presented by Guram Muchaidze. After relating the history of the SDP, he said that Georgia was the first country to take the road leading to democratic socialism. Party activity is still guided by the same seven principles: national freedom, political pluralism, economic self-management, social justice, ecological safety, demographic balance, and openness to foreign contacts. The Georgian Social Democrats promise to implement these principles.

"These are the principles," Chairman Fridon Dochiya of the Galskoy Rayon SDP organization said during a break between sessions, "that appeal to the people who join our party because of deep convictions. We are the party of the people in fact, and not just in words."

Vladimir Sadovskiy, the head of the intensive foreign language instruction laboratory of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers' Institute of National Economic Management, agreed with him:

"I joined the party because Social Democratic ideals are conquering the world and because they focus more than others on the individual. I am a native of Tbilisi and my forefathers lived here for a long time; I feel that the restoration of a party whose main principle is social justice was natural and predictable."

The SDP veterans who spoke at the congress included Shota Burduladze from Signakhi and Simon Chelidze, who was a member of the Social Democratic Party in the 1920's.

The speech by Professor Boris Orlov, head of the sector studying the international Social Democratic movement in the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute for Scientific Information on the Social Sciences, aroused the interest of congress delegates and guests:

"As a scientist, I have access to the papers of various parties, and when I studied them I arrived at the conclusion that the Social Democrats had the most humanistic ideals. This is a movement which takes all of the needs of the individual into account but is not merely a pragmatic movement. It is a combination of common sense and a dream...."

After the discussion period, the congress approved a charter and a new SDP program.

Today, on the last day of the congress, the results of elections to party executive organs will be announced. Besides this, the congress will approve a declaration on the restoration of the SDP and a memorandum on the annexation of Georgia as well as a message to the Georgian population and a message to the Socialist Internationale.

The congress will end with a demonstration and an authorized public rally in Communard Park in support of the demonstration by democratic forces in the USSR scheduled for 25 February.

Georgia Prepares for Economic Sovereignty

90US0667B Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
27 Feb 90 p 2

[GRUZINFORM report: "The Accomplishment of Economic Sovereignty"; passages in boldface as published]

[Text] **The accomplishment of the genuine economic sovereignty of Georgia is a matter of vital importance. It is the focus of attention of the republic government and broad segments of the population. Excessive haste and careless decisions must not be permitted, however, in the exercise of sovereignty. One wrong step could have a serious effect on the entire national economy and cause serious delays in the operations of the most diverse branches of this economy.**

The objective and accurate coverage of this situation by the news media will be particularly important under these conditions. Each inhabitant of Georgia, regardless of nationality, social status, and age, must be fully aware of the importance of the current efforts and must take a firm stance so that he can become actively involved in the renewal process. The Georgian SSR Council of Ministers called a press conference to discuss several matters connected with the idea of the economic autonomy of Georgia. The reporters' questions were answered by Deputy Chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers and Chairman of the republic Gosplan Omar Vardzelashvili and his Deputy Otar Kakauridze.

The current efforts to achieve sovereignty in Georgia have entered an important stage. At this time, 25 bills are being drafted on the management of specific branches of the national economy and the social sphere, and these should become the basis of future economic operations. All of them are vitally important, but some will also introduce radical changes into earlier practices. These are the bills on land, on forms of ownership, on the circulation of money, and some others. Each was drafted on the basis of extensive discussion and the experience accumulated in this area by other union republics. Even today, however, the statements on some matters are not definite enough and need clarification. The system of interrelations between the center and the republic, their mutual rights and obligations, and the distribution of functions, for example, have not been investigated sufficiently.

The republic's right to regard industrial facilities located on its territory as units under its jurisdiction was discussed at length at the press conference. This applies mainly to the enterprises of union ministries and departments and to transportation systems, highways, etc. The idea of economic autonomy and the law drafted on this basis, the act "On the Basic Principles of the Economic Autonomy of the Georgian SSR," stipulate this right and regard it as the only fair solution to the problem. Only under these conditions can the republic insist on favorable contract relationships between these facilities and union organs for a specific period of time. The current arguments in favor of preliminary payments for these facilities were called invalid and illogical at the press conference. On the contrary, the republic should have the right to demand that union organs guarantee the normal economic and financial functioning and technological state of the facility prior to its transfer. The Kutaisi Motor Vehicle Plant was cited as an example. The enterprise is under the jurisdiction of the union ministry and is operating at a loss. Product quality is low and the supply of equipment is inadequate. Before the enterprise is transferred to the jurisdiction of the republic, the republic should demand the preliminary improvement of its operations to meet the necessary requirements.

Reporters took a keen interest in the approach to prices and pricing practices under the conditions of economic sovereignty.

"In fact, Georgia does not have enough fuel and energy resources of its own and now receives them from the union supply at prices below the world average," reported Omar Vardzelashvili. "At the same time, it produces tea of average quality and sells it at prices above the world average. This is less a result of the republic's own wishes than of Georgia's place in union-wide specialization, in which union organs guarantee certain prices. For this reason, in this specific case, the republic should have the right to preserve this disparity in prices, which took shape as a result of circumstances beyond Georgia's control, for as long as necessary. And this should not depend on the form of government it chooses—a renovated federation, a confederation, or even a branch. Furthermore, we cannot overlook the danger of economic sanctions, right up to the point of a blockade, if the decision on economic autonomy should be made unilaterally by the republic."

The formation of a market economy was discussed at length at the press conference. Are we ready to do this? Some of its contradictions are already apparent and are arousing understandable public dissatisfaction. The enrichment of some people, who are not even the most worthy members of society, has been accompanied by the deterioration of the living conditions of others. This is common in a market economy, and it has to be accepted along with all of the stern laws of the market. There is only one alternative—the planned-distribution

economy with its rigid and authoritarian system of management. Our society has already experienced this and has rejected it.

The reporters and the administrators of Gosplan also discussed several other relevant issues connected with the republic's achievement of genuine economic sovereignty.

Ukrainian Electoral Commissions Defended

90UN1082B Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
4 Feb 90 p 3

[Response of V.F. Boyko, Ukrainian Central Electoral Commission chairman, to unnamed RATAU correspondent's query: "In the Central Electoral Commission on Elections of Ukrainian SSR People's Deputies"]

[Text] Information is being disseminated of late by certain representatives of the Ukrainian ecological association "Zeleniy Svit" [Green World] and the Ukrainian Language Society imeni T.G. Shevchenko, as well as some informal [unsanctioned] organizations, concerning the electoral commissions' violating requirements of the Law on Elections and creating artificial impediments to the registration of persons nominated as candidates for Ukrainian SSR People's Deputy from those organizations. A RATAU [Ukrainian Radiotelegraph Agency] correspondent asked the Central Electoral Commission to express its attitude toward accusations of this sort.

"I consider it necessary to assert," said Central Electoral Commission Chairman V.F. Boyko, "that such attempts to discredit the work of electoral agencies formed in a democratic manner have absolutely no foundation in fact."

In its work, the Central Electoral Commission is guided solely by the requirements of the Law, and it supervises the Law's observance in all republic territory. Within the electoral districts, such supervision is effected by the district electoral commissions. These are charged with the crucial function of registering the candidates for Ukrainian SSR People's Deputy. During registration, the district commissions have been carefully checking adherence to the provisions of the Law on Elections and the other legal standards for nominating candidates for Deputy, and they have been making substantiated decisions to deny registration only in the event of discovering violations.

Practically all persons nominated as candidates for Ukrainian SSR People's Deputy in observance of election law standards have been registered. Only those who have not given notice of consent to run for office to the district commission, or have withdrawn their candidacy, remain unregistered.

At the same time, about 120 petitions, in which district commission decisions to deny registration are appealed, have reached the Central Electoral Commission. These

are all carefully considered by Central Electoral Commission members, as a rule with study of the case circumstances on the spot. Decisions on all appeals are made in Central Electoral Commission sessions exclusively. Already, 68 appeals of the following sort have been considered. District commission decisions have been sustained in 42 of them, including, with respect to registration denial, those of 15 persons nominated by labor collectives, 7 nominated by voters according to place of residence, and 19 nominated by public organizations. For example, commission decisions have been sustained in regard to violation of the Law's requirements when nominating candidates by Donetsk Oblast's Yenakievo Ukrainian Komsomol [LKSMU] City Committee and the city of Zaporozhye's LKSMU Leninskiy Rayon Committee, by the Kharkov Oblast Committee of the Timber, Paper, and Woodworking Industry Workers Trade Union, and by several organizations of the Ukrainian Language Society imeni T.G. Shevchenko and the "Zeleniy Svit" Association.

Some organizations of the Ukrainian Language Society and the "Zeleniy Svit" Association, which lack primary cells within their makeup and thus cannot enjoy the status of rayon or city organizations, have nominated their candidates without regard to article 34 of the Law on Elections, in which the right of nomination is accorded only to agencies of oblast, rayon, city, and intracity rayon public organizations. For example, the "Zeleniy Svit" Association's organization in the city of Kiev's Minskiy Rayon incorporates 17 members in all, and 13 persons were present at the meetings to nominate a candidate for People's Deputy. There are no other organizations of the association in the rayon. Therefore, the organization is actually a primary cell according to its constitution, and does not have the right to nominate a candidate for Deputy. Taking these circumstances into account, the Central Electoral Commission agreed with the decision of Obolonskiy Electoral District No 11's district electoral commission to deny registration of the candidate nominated by this organization.

Cases occur, in which representatives of certain collectives and public organizations, striving to register a candidate for Deputy at all costs, put pressure on electoral commissions and, sometimes, do not even hesitate to falsify documents. For example, the minutes of a conference of the Odessa Housing Operation Association's labor collective were presented to the district electoral commission for Odessa Oblast's Zhovtnevyi Electoral District No 294, although such a conference was not held. Falsification of certain documents connected with a candidate's nomination from one of the Ukrainian Language Society's rayon associations was discovered by the district electoral commission of Kharkov Electoral District No 392. At the same time, certain instances of a formalistic approach to the registration of candidates for Deputy on the part of district electoral commissions have occurred. The Central Electoral Commission has repealed their decisions, as not conforming to legislative standards, in 16 appeals of

registration denial. In that number were four decisions concerning the registration denial of persons nominated by Ukrainian Language Society and "Zeleniy Svit" Association organizations.

Ukrainian CP Officials Meet With Ethnic Organizations

90UN0981A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
24 Jan 90 p 3

[RATAU report: "Strengthening Interethnic Ties"]

[Text] Free development of Soviet peoples and strengthening of their friendship and cooperation based on the principles of integral combination of equality among peoples and equality among individuals regardless of their nationality is one of the important components of the general concept of restructuring. Renewal of Soviet society and the striving of peoples for intellectual revival have resulted in the establishment of independent public associations representing the ethnic groups that live in the Ukraine. Their further development, ways of meeting their cultural and educational needs and reinforcing their physical base, and ways of improving interethnic relations were the focus of a working meeting in Kiev between Yu. N. Yelchenko, Ukrainian CP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, and representatives of national culture societies.

In the course of their businesslike discussion it was noted that over the past six months alone, the period since a similar meeting was held, founding meetings and conferences have been held to establish new republic-level national cultural societies for Greeks, Jews and Soviet Germans. In the Crimea a newspaper in the Crimean Tatar language has begun publication, in Mariupol there is now a Greek-language radio broadcast on the air, and the Kiev city newspaper PRAPOR KOMUNIZMU periodically allots space to reports on the activities of national cultural societies. New textbooks are being published in national languages. VUZs in Kiev, Izmail, Lvov, Odessa, Simferopol, Uzhgorod and Chernovtsy have set up study groups in which instruction is given in national languages; appropriate specialists are being trained to do this work.

In the positive process of the development and improvement of interethnic relations, stressed Yu. N. Yelchenko, there is one programmatic document which is of tremendous significance: the CPSU platform "The Party's Nationalities Policy Under Present-Day Conditions"; this document gives principled political responses to interethnic relations questions and sets clear-cut political guidelines. In the Ukraine today the ethnic group movement is assuming a larger scale; it is expanding, taking on new aspects and demonstrating national cultural interest in the most diverse areas. This is a positive phenomenon attesting to the fact that our republic has the proper conditions and the political soil needed for development of amicable relations between people. It is heartening to see representatives of national cultural societies taking pains to see that the movement toward greater ethnic

self-awareness and to satisfy broad needs and interests does not result in ethnic narrow-mindedness or exclusiveness.

In their analysis of the activities and goals of national cultural societies, their representatives repeatedly noted that today we are all participants in and witnesses to major events in the social and political life of our country, and to widespread attention to peoples' ethnic interests and growing concern over preservation of the distinctiveness of their cultures.

Newspapers, books and magazines published in Hungarian in Transcarpathian Oblast were shown to those attending the meeting by T. Ya. Sevleshi, member of the Transcarpathian Oblast Hungarian Culture Society Presidium. R. Z. Masautov, chairman of the Republic Cultural Center for Turkic-Speaking Peoples, commented that their public organization, which unites the Tatars, Bashkir, Azerbaijanis, Crimean Tatars, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Karaim, Gagauz and Chuvash living in the Ukraine, has greatly developed both its educational and its production-related activities and will soon begin publishing its own newsletter.

Experience with and plans for the expansion of cultural work, establishment of evening and Sunday national language courses and conducting of special evenings and concerts were shared by S. A. Shalatskiy, head of the Polish Cultural and Educational Society, and I. A. Yali, head of the Ukrainian Region Greek Society. They noted that the societies need a place where people can gather, but gorispolkoms in Kiev and Donetsk seem completely unable to reach a decision on whether to allocate building for the conducting of national associations' activities. In the near future it will also be necessary to commence establishment of an organization whose goal will be to coordinate the societies' actions, hold joint sessions and do educational work with young people and children, bringing them up as genuine patriots and internationalists. The sphere of influence of the Republic Center for Friendship Among Peoples should be expanded immediately and the center transformed into an effective working organ.

"At times," commented I. M. Levitas, chairman of the Republic Jewish Culture Society, "a strange situation arises. Schools, VUZs and dormitories have special corners and offices of international friendship which provide information about distant lands. That is splendid. Yet at the same time both adults and children know very little about the rich culture, literature, art and folk traditions of the peoples living in the Ukraine—and there are members of over one hundred nationalities in our republic."

Addressing urgent problems, P. M. Tamrazov, chairman of the Kiev Assyrian Society, V. F. Tutik, chairman of the Kiev "Rebirth" Soviet German Society, and I. A. Stoyanov, member of the group working to establish a Republic Bulgarian Culture Society, all stressed the great

significance of training skilled cadres to teach national languages in specialized groups at the republic's universities and of expanding contacts with VUZs in foreign countries. Many speakers made the comment that the problems of ethnic minorities should be given more attention in periodical publications and in television and radio broadcasts. Those attending the meeting were unanimous concerning the need for the republic to have a state program for work with ethnic groups and to establish an Association of National Cultural Societies of the Peoples of the Ukraine; the purpose of this program and association would be to protect the rights of and provide proper conditions for preservation of the ethnic traditions and the cultural and linguistic development of peoples living outside of their national territorial units, as well as to create proper conditions for expansion of internationalist processes of mutual intellectual enrichment.

"In our country today we are unfortunately experiencing a shortage of friendship; we note with sorrow instances of worsening interethnic relations in Transcaucasia," said G. M. Gasanov, chairman of the Dagestan National Association in Kiev, "Therefore our common and most important task is to strive together with Ukrainians, Russians and all the other peoples of the Ukraine to strengthen friendship and unite to work together for the sake of people's moral education, for the sake of our Soviet Motherland, and for the sake of our intellectual heritage."

The representatives of national culture societies expressed deep concern over the recent tragic events in Azerbaijan and Armenia, unanimously condemned those forces which started this terrible fire of fratricidal war and expressed their support for the steps being taken by the party's Central Committee and our country's government to restore order in Transcaucasia.

Those attending the meeting agreed to set up a working group for the purpose of founding an Association of National Cultural Societies of the Peoples of the Ukraine.

Also attending the meeting was N. A. Shulga, head of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Nationalities Relations Department, and other party and soviet officials.

Ukrainian MVD Investigating Pogrom Rumors

90UN1146A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
15 Feb 90 p 4

[Unattributed article: "In the Republic's Procuracy and MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs]"]

[Text] Many citizens have recently contacted the Ukrainian SSR Procuracy and MVD; these citizens are disturbed by rumors about possible pogroms in Kiev and in the republic's other cities, by reports about anti-Semitic manifestations in Moscow and Leningrad, and by inter-ethnic conflicts in a number of the country's regions, events which have led to serious consequences. They are

perceived and interpreted with particular sharpness under the conditions which have seen the activation of certain extremist-minded persons from the "informal" associations, persons who are striving to heat up the situation in this republic, to sow distrust among working people toward the legal activities of the law-enforcement organs and who all but accuse the latter's staff members of disseminating fabricated stories.

The Ukrainian SSR Procuracy and MVD do not have at their disposal any reliably information whatsoever concerning pogroms or other crimes being prepared on nationalistic grounds. Such rumors are being reported by certain samizdat press publications and at political meetings; they stir people up and cause idle talk as well as distorted interpretations.

With regard to the matter of disseminating provocative rumors in this republic's capital, the Procuracy of the City of Kiev has instigated a criminal case and is conducting an investigation. It has also been proposed that procurators in the localities instigate criminal cases and, in conjunction with the internal-affairs organs, arrest and charge, as provided for by the law, those persons who have been spreading fabricated stories and inflaming hostility and discord.

The Ukrainian SSR Procuracy and MVD are counting on help from citizens, and they request people to inform the nearest police organ about any instances of criminal activities or intentions that they know about.

The law-enforcement organs are monitoring this situation and will undertake decisive measures in case it becomes genuinely worse.

Ukrainian Anti-Fascist Organization Registered

90UN1146B Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
15 Feb 90 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Charters of New Organizations Registered"]

[Excerpts] The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers has registered the charters of the Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroika and the Ukrainian Organization of Anti-Fascist Resistance Fighters

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The republic-level Organization of Anti-Fascist Resistance Fighters (former political prisoners in fascist concentration camps) is a public organization comprising citizens of the Ukrainian SSR who actively participated in defending the Soviet State in the ranks of the Armed Forces, in partisan units, in underground organizations, and also those who engaged in this struggle at the promptings of their own hearts.

It unites the efforts of its members in the struggle to reinforce peace, bring the arms race to a halt, and for disarmament, to strengthen ties with international and foreign national veterans' organizations which are

speaking out against the threat of a new war, for the security of nations and their peoples, their friendship and cooperation, fraternal friendship among the peoples of the USSR, and against any nationalistic manifestations. It channels its efforts into active participation in political, socioeconomic, and cultural life, and into educating the rising generation in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism.

Secretary Details Fergana Obkom Efforts To Decrease Inter-Ethnic Tension

90US0556A Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
7 Jan 90 p 2

[Interview with M.K. Karabayev, secretary, Fergana Party Obkom, by PRAVDA VOSTOKA correspondent: "Forecasts for an Obkom Sector: Party Life: Problems of Inter-Ethnic Attitudes"]

[Text] In one of the shops of the Fergananeftteorgsintez Production Association we recently happened to observe a group of workers filling out a questionnaire which had been presented by local sociologists. We focused our attention on the signature at the bottom of the questionnaire: "Party Obkom Sector on Inter-Ethnic Attitudes." At the request of PRAVDA VOSTOKA's correspondent, the secretary of the Fergana Party Obkom, M.K. KARABAYEV, discusses this sector's tasks below.

[M.K. Karabayev] Yes, the new sector is already in operation: it has begun conducting a poll which encompasses workers at industrial enterprises, rural laborers, students and pupils, as well as teachers at VUZ's and specialized, secondary educational institutions. The goal of this polling activity is to study the status of inter-ethnic attitudes and the socio-psychological situation in our oblast. The results of this study will constitute the basis of practical recommendations for party and ideological organs. They will also be utilized for forecasting the model of this region's development.

[Correspondent] Makhamadzhon Karabayevich, could you tell us in greater detail how this sector was created, what its functions include, and what it will engage in as a whole?

[M.K. Karabayev] After the tragic events and the exacerbation of inter-ethnic attitudes in our oblast the matter of a new sub-division came up for discussion on more than one occasion in the obkom. And here we received the following suggestion from the CPSU Central Committee: Study the problem and make recommendations. We did not wait for a directive from above—we created the sector right away. This is one of the specific steps in altering the course of the oblast party organization with regard to ethnic policy, a logical process for improving party leadership in this sphere.

Hence also the sector's top-priority task—working out an overall concept for the renovation of ethnic policy and improvement of inter-ethnic attitudes in our oblast, i.e., putting the CPSU's platform into practice.

The sector will forecast the development of ethnic attitudes and inter-ethnic relations in this region, i.e., it will analyze and predict inter-ethnic processes. The new sub-division's functions will also include studying the style and operating methods of the party organs along these lines, coordinating their efforts, as well as summing up and disseminating experience. It will likewise have the task of working out practical recommendations for the party committees, based on the discovery of factors and causes brought about by the presence of non-internationalistic orientations and negative positions in the consciousness of various social groups. In my opinion, the sector's forecasts will also touch upon such urgent problems as political influence on the formation of the cultural standards and ethics of inter-ethnic relations.

We intend to construct our work by basing it on an extremely careful, empirically verified analysis and taking into account the multi-faceted, formally diverse ethnic interests and requirements of this oblast's population. In order to do this, we need an entire series of mass sociological investigations of various strata of the population.

[Correspondent] And such investigations have begun. Does that mean that the first step has been taken?

[M.K. Karabayev] If you have in mind the polling that is presently being conducted, this is not the first job undertaken by the sector. Even prior to the obkom plenum, during the course of a meeting with representatives of Soviet Koreans which had been organized jointly with the National Cultural Korean Center, a sociological investigation was conducted. And it provided some extremely interesting results, which are now being summed up and generalized upon.

[Correspondent] As we know, this sector was set up at the "juncture" of several of the obkom's departments and, evidently, will not be limited to purely ideological activities. Is that correct?

[M.K. Karabayev] The problems of inter-ethnic attitudes have a direct bearing on all spheres of public life: socio-economic and personnel policies, agrarian relations, trade, and other spheres. The sector's functions are extensive. Hence too the complexity of electing the sector's leading officials.

[Correspondent] We are interested in learning to whom preference was given—to a party official or to a scholar.

[M.K. Karabayev] This question also arose for the obkom's bureau members. Before proceeding to the matter of selecting candidates, we completely did away with the "bureaucratic" approach to party leadership of any sector. For inter-ethnic attitudes it is not only unacceptable but also dangerous. Here directives and decrees would not help to correct matters, but, on the contrary, would even make things worse. There is not enough party experience in this matter; it is essentially something new.

If we chose a party official as the leader, there would be a chance of his bringing along old stereotypes to the new sector. And so the scales were tipped in favor of a scholar's candidacy. We decided that he could be instructed in matters of party work. He would be less likely to be bound by stereotypes, he would analyze the problem profoundly, he would be accustomed to scholarly investigative work, and, therefore, would not spend too much time simply sitting in his office, but, with the help of party committees, would be able to actively influence processes which are far from simple.

Sherzod Madzhidovich Abdullayev was approved as the sector head. He is a candidate of historical sciences and protector for scientific work at the Fergana Pedagogical Institute imeni Ulugbek.

The sphere of his scientific interests are connected with the problems of inter-ethnic attitudes and relations: he is finishing up his doctoral dissertation, by the way, based on materials from the Fergana region. As a scholar, he will be interested to have the opportunity of witnessing the implementation of his own scientific developments in party-type, practical work. This is really a fortunate circumstance when private, personal and public interests fully coincide.

But it will also be difficult: he is the only one in the sector.

[Correspondent] But is it possible to carry out the program which you have set forth without a scientific base?

[M.K. Karabayev] Indeed, it would be impossible for the sector to function normally without a sufficient scientific base, without an organic link with basic research, without the constant nourishment of new ideas from scholars and specialists. Taking this into consideration, the party obkom, as far back as last year, proposed that a scientific center for studying social processes in the region be opened at the Fergana Pedagogical Institute. It began operating in November of last year.

[Correspondent] Evidently, working concepts had been developed from the very beginning. Is that correct?

[M.K. Karabayev] We began from the following standpoint. The Fergana Valley is a region where the long, drawn-out, critical condition of economic and social structures had manifested themselves most acutely. The ecological and demographical situations are extremely complex. These factors have continued to stimulate the increase of social tension and socio-psychological instability in the region. The symptoms of this have not been summed up on the scientific level, nor have forecasts been made. And the cosmetic-type half-measures previously undertaken by party, soviet, and economic organs could not and cannot solve all the complex problems. In connection with this, the need has arisen for a profound and comprehensive study of the processes involved here.

The center will conduct systematic research and provide practical recommendations not only to party organs, but also to ideological, soviet, and economic organs of this oblast on a broad spectrum of matters. A logical continuation of this research will be works on defining the nature of the tragic events in Fergana Oblast.

[Correspondent] Does the center's structure flow from the tasks confronting it?

[M.K. Karabayev] So far it consists of just a sociological laboratory. But the center has been conceived as a comprehensive facility, rather than purely a sociological one. Sociology serves as merely an efficient tool with the aid of which social processes will be studied, whereas the summing up and the drawing of generalizations will be engaged in by a group of scholars from various fields.

It would be fundamentally incorrect to approach the problems of inter-ethnic attitudes only from a sociological standpoint. We would most assuredly fall into the error of vulgar sociologizing and would not render any assistance to the party committees. Instead, we need to adopt a comprehensive approach, one which takes all factors into account. We will attempt to solve this problem.

A few days ago I had a businesslike conversation with some scholars, and now we are setting up one more laboratory at the center. It will tackle the problems of improving the process of the social and moral development of young people, taking regional characteristics into consideration.

This is one of the most neglected spheres in our life, and, therefore, work will proceed immediately along several lines. And everywhere we need to seek out new approaches and new systems in inter-ethnic education.

[Correspondent] It is well known that the scientific center which has become a part of the sector unites the efforts of a large group of scholars: historians, sociologists, economists, psychologists, demographers.... But, of course, they are engaged, as a rule, in academic projects. Won't a situation develop something like the following: an avalanche of recommendations will descend on the primary party organizations and "stifle" their creative work and initiative; moreover, the advice of the scientists will merely gather dust in the file-folders, while the primary party organizations, just as before, will tag along at the tail-end of events?

[M.K. Karabayev] In my opinion, such an "effect" will not take place. The standards required for recruiting personnel are now quite particular. Above all, it requires a knowledge of the specifics regarding ethnic problems and an ability to use theory for solving practical problems. This is well-understood by all the scientific staff at the center.

The sociology laboratory is headed up by Makhmadzhon Rakhimov, a candidate of philosophical sciences. He is a sociologist and he working on his doctoral degree. The head of the other laboratory is Nabidzhon

Temirov, a candidate of pedagogical sciences, who is finishing up his doctoral dissertation on the problems of the social conditions with regard to the molding of young people. Here there is also a bearing on practical work. The new laboratory will also be working on this topic and its set of problems.

The institute's leading scholars are included on the staff of the center. Among them is the well-known specialist in the field of labor sociology—Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Turdi Sharipovich Sharipov—who heads up the Department of Philosophy. He was a professor at one of the Leningrad VUZ's for a long time. Another recognized specialist in the field of labor sociology is Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Yeri Tairovich Tairov—prorector for scientific work.

The sector and the center can accomplish a great deal by working together in cooperative action.

[Correspondent] You will probably also establish links with this country's scientific facilities, won't you?

[M.K. Karabayev] Naturally, we don't intend to just steep in our own juice. By ourselves, we are obviously incapable of solving the entire complex of problems in such a multi-faceted and formally diverse region as this. Therefore, we are establishing contacts with a number of

scientific centers: the Academy of Social Sciences, institutes of ethnography, sociological research, the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion, the institute of psychology and its new sector of inter-ethnic attitudes. We also have contacts with this republic's scientists.

And, of course, the sector will not be able to cope with its tasks unless it maintains ties with the party committees and relies on their experience.

[Correspondent] It would be good if the obkom's policy reaches the lower levels, but will people accept it?

[M.K. Karabayev] Herein lies the essence of renovating ethnic policy; it is being constructed now on the basis of studying public opinion and a knowledge of the socio-psychological situation in all spheres of social life. What was the trouble with the party committees? They were not equipped with this knowledge; they frequently operated by intuition, and their study of public opinion was episodic in its nature.

Nowadays the masses themselves are taking part in developing the policy of the party committee, and the latter does not allow the processes to drift haphazardly. Instead, it controls them actively and knowledgeably.

Amendments to Legal Reform Laws Attacked

90UN0989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 14 Feb 90 Second Edition p 6

[Interview with A. D. Boykov, professor and doctor of juridical sciences, conducted by G. Orlovskiy: "On the Matter of Legal Reform Laws..."]

[Text] *We have all been waiting for legal reforms with understandable impatience. Overall each step of reform has been greeted with approval. But today the decisions made by legislators are being assessed to an ever greater degree in light of the unprecedented rise in the crime rate, particular the rate of organized crime. Divergent opinions have also arisen concerning certain legal acts adopted in the past. This is the subject of our correspondent's conversation with A. D. Boykov, a professor and doctor of juridical sciences and one of the participants in the drafting of laws on legal reform.*

[Orlovskiy] I assume that you are familiar with our article of 5 January 1990 entitled "In the Shadow of Good Intentions." It pertained to the difficulties which have arisen in connection with application of Article 14 in the Basic Legislation on the Judiciary, and to participation by the defense in judicial proceedings at various stages of the investigation. This standard has been in effect since 1 December 1989. However, the organizational groundwork for application of it has not been laid: there are not enough lawyers available. In the legal sense as well many complications have arisen, prompting law enforcement personnel (and they have plainly stated this) to violate the law. In short, the new legal standard has sent a shock wave through the ranks of law enforcement personnel. How did this article come into being, and what were the reasons for such shortsightedness on the part of lawmakers and the those who wrote these draft laws?

[Boykov] Yes, when I read the article "In the Shadow of Good Intentions" I could understand the outrage of procuratorial and court personnel as well as lawyers in regard to the new laws contained in Article 14 of the Basic Legislation on the Judiciary. I take responsibility for those complaints. However, I would not like for this new legislation to be judged solely on the basis of its failings. Let us be objective.

We expect a great deal from the courts of the future as one of the guarantors of democracy and social justice, as defenders of our rights. The Supreme Soviet's Law on the Status of Judges in the USSR and the Basic Legislation on the Judiciary represent a major step toward the creation of that kind of courts. Among their most substantial achievements I would note provision of a system of legal, organizational and economic guarantees in support of democratic principles in the judiciary.

[Orlovskiy] I agree that all those things are important, and people have praised them. But I would like to direct you back to the subject of the those laws' quality.

[Boykov] Unfortunately, the laws on courts which were adopted also contain considerable flaws, flaws which came about as the result of parliamentary debate. The draft laws were prepared over a long period of time by a group of legal scientists and experienced members of our law enforcement system. The deputies whose job it was to discuss amendments to the draft laws did not deem it necessary to turn to those who had written the drafts for consultation. They were obviously mesmerized by the fact that there were several famous jurists among their number. But it should be borne in mind that legal specialization among jurists, just like specialization among physicians, prevents them from being mutually interchangeable.

You mentioned Article 14 of the Basic Legislation on the Judiciary; the deputies added such unexpected amendments to it that we who wrote the draft laws were not the only ones who were surprised.

The draft adopted uses a generic definition of the accused as subject of the right to defense; this replaced "suspect, accused or convicted individual." This brings up a question which was not answered: do not individuals who are either convicted or acquitted also have a right to defense in the event that they appeal their case or the sentence given them is protested?

Furthermore: the article notes that the right of the suspect and the accused to defense "is ensured by participation of defense counsel beginning at the moment of detention, arrest or indictment."

Here, as we can see, the right to defense is equated with participation by defense counsel, even though it is a well-known fact that participation by defense counsel is only one aspect of the right to defense, which is comprised of a broad range of rights of the accused (or of the suspect) and corresponding responsibilities on the part of the officials and organs which carry out judicial procedures.

In addition, the standard as now written permits various interpretations even of the procedure for guaranteeing "participation" by defense counsel. Specifically, it is not clear whether the investigator (or procurator) is obligated actually to provide defense counsel to every person detained or whether they are only obligated to "admit" defense counsel. And what does "from the moment of detention or arrest" mean? Should defense counsel be present at this procedural act, or rather from the time of the first interrogation, as experts propose?

But my main comment is on the fact that all these matters have no connection with the Law on the Judiciary—they all pertain to procedural legislation.

As I understand it, at the Supreme Soviet session several attempts were made to make clear to the deputies the difference between things which are subject to regulation by judiciary legislation and procedural legislation. Unfortunately, the parliament ignored these "fine

points" and instead heeded those deputies who were very eager to demonstrate their zealotry as champions of democracy.

In my opinion it is impossible to apply Article 14 until criminal procedural legislation is passed regarding the suspect, his rights, and the rights of the suspect's defender.

[Orlovskiy] Does that mean that Article 14 should be repealed?

[Boykov] I submit that the Supreme Soviet deputies should have the courage to admit their mistake and repeal Article 14 of the Basic Legislation, and put it back into the language used in the original draft.

[Orlovskiy] And what did that version say?

[Boykov] It proposed a general formula which is fully adequate for legislation on the judicial system:

The accused has a right to defense. The accused is considered innocent until such time as he is proven guilty according to legally established procedures and a legally valid sentence has been handed down.

[Orlovskiy] Yet the question remains, what is to be done right now, while Article 14 is still in force? Can an investigator ignore it, i.e. decide at his own discretion whether or not to apply a law passed by the supreme authority?

[Boykov] I cannot urge those who apply the law to take that route. That would undermine respect for the law and create "one law for Kaluga and another for Ryazan," whereas there should be only one law. The practical solution is to use the official interpretation of Article 14 as given by the USSR Supreme Soviet, or else for the USSR Supreme Court to issue guidelines.

But even after such interpretation the procedural status of defense counsel for suspects would remain unregulated until such time as Basic Legislation on Criminal Proceedings is passed. This should decide within what limitations defense counsel for suspects should have access to case materials (we must not forget the importance of investigative secrecy in the fight against crime!), as well as under what conditions the defender may see the individual in custody, and so forth. Therefore a compromise interpretation of Article 14 is not the optimum solution.

[Orlovskiy] Harsh criticism. But I believe that your proposals will to some extent sound the alarm to our legislators. And that is important: nowadays laws get "baked" very quickly. Our conversation is unlikely to help the authors of the article "In the Shadow of Good Intentions," but I think your proposal on an interpretation of the law (and a quick one!) is constructive.

Belorussian SSR MVD Official Comments on Organized Crime

90UN1092A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 11 Feb 90 p 4

[Interview with Nikolay Sergeyevich Gubskiy, deputy chief of the Belorussian SSR MVD Criminal Investigation Administration, by A. Lemeshenok; time, date, and place of interview not given: "How Much Money Does the Mafia Have?"]

[Text] *Today one can often hear the expression "shadow economy." Of what does it consist, and is it true that this capital turnover in the republic is estimated in the billions?*
K. TERESHCHENKO, Bykhovskiy Rayon

In order to answer this lady reader's question, I had to meet with one of the leaders in the fight against organized crime, N.S. Gubskiy, deputy chief of the Belorussian SSR MVD's Criminal Investigation Administration.

[Lemeshenok] At the outset, Nikolay Sergeyevich, let us define the constituent elements of the shadow economy. What does it include?

[Gubskiy] This is a broad concept. Included in it, for example, are theft, fund distribution for bribes, raw materials and products not counted in inventory, illegal deals, and cooperatives' concealment of actual profits for the purpose of tax evasion.

[Lemeshenok] Is it possible to cite the total, at least approximately, that the sharp operators of clandestine business turn over? I have heard that it amounts to 2.8 billion rubles.

[Gubskiy] I will not attempt to give you a precise figure, but you may be assured that it is very substantial.

[Lemeshenok] And what, is this money kept in savings banks, or does it circulate in its own so-called circle?

[Gubskiy] Only an insignificant fraction is kept on deposit. Those who have sums that are small to their way of thinking—tens of thousands—venture to "officially declare" themselves. They are considered little fish in the criminal world.

[Lemeshenok] I wonder, Nikolay Sergeyevich, what the "sharks" of the Mafia have at their disposal. According to my understanding, they still have to "launder" the money somehow. I know that there are various methods for this: putting the money into real estate such as expensive dachas, for example, and buying up high-value jewelry.... What are the police doing?

[Gubskiy] We are working. You know about our problems.

[Lemeshenok] Can you not cite some examples of Criminal Investigation's and the Fight Against Socialist Property Theft and Speculation [BKSS] Service's successful work?

[Gubskiy] A case involving bribes and thefts at one of the major bases is being investigated. A large ring of principals is being held accountable. The principals were engaged in the writing off of fabrics and the unwarranted regrading of goods, as well as in outright thefts. They went too far. They will have to answer for their deeds.

A major so-called "computer case" is in the investigation stage. Here the tally goes into the millions.

[Lemeshenok] You spoke of millions. And here is what came to mind, Nikolay Sergeyevich. Labor collectives, striving to help the police, now contribute their hard-earned money to the latter for the worthy cause. But why not return a part (and not a small one!) of the funds taken away from criminals to strengthen the law enforcement agencies? It would be just....

[Gubskiy] There are reports that this matter is being studied in the Committee on the Fight Against Crime functioning under the country's Supreme Soviet. So, let us hope for a decision favorable to all of us.

[Lemeshenok] It has become somewhat less common lately to talk about racketeers. Have they settled down a bit?

[Gubskiy] No such luck! Here in front of me is a hot report. Two racketeers were arrested in Grodno yesterday while attempting to obtain 10,000 rubles from their victim. There are other examples as well. By the way, the racketeers in the Grodno incident that I cited turned out to be cooperative workers themselves.

[Lemeshenok] This is something new....

[Gubskiy] I do not agree. It is all very simple. Some of such people are just considered to be in certain cooperatives, but they concentrate their efforts on protection of their "bosses" and extortion from other affluent individuals.

[Lemeshenok] One way or another, Nikolay Sergeyevich, our conversation always revolves around cooperatives. However, I think that our readers will understand us correctly and not accuse us of prejudice or conservative thinking. We are all agreed that we need honest and upright, businesslike cooperative people, but, we must actively fight against the pests and brazen manipulators in order not to let the evil spread. Therefore, let me pose the following question: In what field of endeavor are most of the cooperatives' "sins"?

[Gubskiy] In the agro-industrial field. The highest percentage of the shadow economy is there according to BKSS-Service data. The concealment of goods in the country is estimated in billion-[milliard]-ruble totals. Recall, too, an already well-known example. The cooperative sector took out loans of 16 billion rubles in 1989, and returned only 1 billion.

[Lemeshenok] At one time there was talk of private investigation....

[Gubskiy] It cannot be adapted here. Fighting against criminals is very difficult, even for professionals, and utterly impossible for amateurs....

Kazakh MVD Reports Rising Crime Rates

90UN0987A Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 4 Feb 90 p 4

[Report: "The Kazakh MVD Reports: Crime Rate Increase Continues"]

[Text] According to data from the Kazakh SSR MVD Information Center the situation in the republic in 1989 was characterized by persistently negative trends in the dynamics and structure of crime.

All departments together reported a total of 135,338 crimes, or 31.3 percent more than in 1988.

The greatest increase in the total number of crimes occurred in the city of Alma-Ata (+68.8 percent), East Kazakhstan Oblast (+40.6 percent), Karaganda Oblast (+39.5 percent), Guryev Oblast (+38.7 percent), Aktyubinsk Oblast (+33.9 percent), Tselinograd Oblast (+30.8 percent) and Kustanay Oblast [no figure given].

Of all the crimes reported 99,179, or 73.3 percent, were handled by criminal investigation divisions. The number of such crimes rose by 45.4 percent.

There was a substantial increase in the number of serious crimes, of which there were 22,192 (+38.4 percent), including premeditated murder (1,549 cases, increasing by 28.9 percent, crimes inflicting serious bodily harm (3,020 cases, increasing by 42.5 percent), rape (1,678 cases, increasing by 17.2 percent), robbery (7,205 cases, increasing by 71.5 percent), theft of state and public property (14,620 cases, increasing by 56.9 percent) and theft of personal property (44,760 cases, increasing by 53.3 percent), including apartment burglary (15,176 cases, increasing by 48.1 percent).

Thefts comprised 60 percent of the total number of crimes handled by criminal investigation divisions.

The number of thefts of state-owned motor vehicles (154 cases) rose by 60.4 percent, theft of private motor vehicles (4,875 cases) by 56.6 percent, incidents of hooliganism (6,805 cases) by 19 percent, and fraud (1,013 cases) by 4.3 percent.

The number of crimes committed in public places continues to rise, totalling 24,750 (+83.7 percent), as well as those committed directly in streets, public squares and parks, totalling 16,860 (+99.3 percent). The percentages of such crimes in the total number of crimes reported are 18.3 and 12.4 percent, respectively.

The principal types of street crimes are thefts from and theft of motor vehicles, especially thefts of automobiles belonging to private individuals, as well as robberies, including robberies involving the commission of acts of violence.

Throughout the republic as a whole 11,786 crimes (+12.7 percent) were committed by repeat offenders.

There has been no decline in the number of crimes committed by individuals while intoxicated, which totalled 17,592 cases (+19.8 percent).

The crime rate among minors is alarming. A total of 9,539 crimes (+26.6 percent) were committed by them or with their participation.

Of the 1,549 murders committed in 1989 129 cases remain unsolved. There is a high percentage of unsolved crimes involving theft of citizens' personal property, particularly out of apartments, theft of state and public property, and robbery.

The situation in the republic capital remains difficult; there negative trends are outpacing the worsening of crime statistics reported by republic internal affairs organs overall. Alma-Ata accounts for 15.6 percent of all the crimes handled by criminal investigation divisions, or almost one in seven.

There has been some reduction in discovery of crimes for the purpose of personal gain committed by officials or business organizations. The Department for Struggle Against Theft of Socialist Property reported 20,360 crimes (+0.1 percent). Fewer cases of embezzlement of state and public property through misappropriation, concealment or abuse of official position were uncovered, totalling just 8,254 (-3.3 percent); bribery cases totalled 219 (-11.7 percent).

There was an increase in the number of accidents reported by the State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate. There was a total of 17,708 (+14.6 percent) highway accidents, resulting in the death of 3,839 people (+22.3 percent) and injuring 19,406 (+15.4 percent).

The fire situation in our republic remains poor. A total of 6,859 fires were reported (+20.4 percent); these fires caused damages totalling 19.6 million rubles (an increase by a factor of 2.3) and the death of 465 people (+18.9 percent).

Growing Soviet Role in Domestic, International Interdiction

90WD0191A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 20 Feb 90 Second Edition p 3

[Article by P. Timofeyev: "Together Against the 'White Death'"]

[Text] A regional meeting, which occurred the previous week in the Colombian city of Cartagena, preceded the UN General Assembly special session on drugs. The discussions between the presidents of Columbia, Peru and Bolivia—it is these countries that form the Latin American "Golden Triangle"—and the president of the United States—the country which is the main consumer of drugs—were illuminated by press agencies as one of the main global events.

Cartagena reminded one of a city under siege. Thousands of military patrols defended the international airport, hotels and press center where more than 1,300 foreign journalists were accredited. Special security measures were also taken on the island of Mansanillo which is very near Cartagena where the presidents gathered. Two U.S. Navy vessels dropped anchor near the shore.

Despite the fact that no incidents occurred during the meeting, all of these precautions were not in vain. As recent events in Columbia have shown, the hitmen of the drug syndicates are excellently armed and trained. They are capable of conducting large-scale military operations over a large territory.

Many explain the fact that the drug mafia did not show itself during the meeting of the four presidents by the fact that the government of Columbia arrived at a contradictory agreement with the leaders of the drug cartels on the eve of the meeting. The location of three underground laboratories for the production of heroin, which had a capacity of 250 tons of narcotics annually, was revealed to the authorities. As became known to the NBC television company, the drug mafia bosses made this gesture, in their words, to "restore peace" in Columbia. In response, the authorities cut back somewhat on operations to seize the members of the bands.

As a result of President Bush's consultations with the government leaders of the three Latin American countries, it was decided that the United States would increase its military and economic aid to Bolivia, Peru and Columbia to combat the drug mafia. In addition, the White House will assume responsibility for counteracting illegal deliveries from the United States of weapons and chemical agents that are required for the production of heroin. It also promised to call upon other Western countries to provide economic assistance to these three states.

All of these measures, however, will hardly be able to reduce the scale of contraband deliveries. The trouble here lies primarily in the different approaches to the problem of eliminating the drug traffic and in the growing mutual charges of the producing countries and of the main consumer countries. The key question here is: What is the initial reason for the growth in the power of the drug syndicates—does demand give birth to supply or vice versa? One must also remember that the growing of cocoa and other drug-containing crops is an important item of income for many "Third World" countries.

The situation is more than serious. The drug addiction threat has today moved into first place—along with such global problems as the danger of nuclear war, ecological catastrophe and SPID [lathe-device-instrument-component]. That is why a decision was made—primarily at the initiative of the developing countries—to hold a special U.N. session devoted to the struggle against drugs.

The United Nations has been actively engaged in this matter before. The first important conference on combating drugs took place in 1987 in Vienna. Since then, they have become regular ones. However, drug smuggling and demand have recently reached such scales that the global community has been forced to look for new and nontraditional ways to combat the "White Death." The problem has acquired a global political aspect. The drug mafia threatens the existing state structure in a whole number of regions. Based on the scope of its financial operations, the drug business has moved into second place after the arms trade. Billions, which go to expand production, create more modern technologies and buy the highest officials in governments, accumulate in the pockets of the heroin "barons." The syndicates have well armed and trained armies which sometimes number close to the government's troops.

Whereas ten years ago there were continents which were considered safe from drug addiction, there now, perhaps, does not remain a country where the drug mafia has not put down its roots. Unfortunately, a number of recent reports indicate that the Soviet Union has also fallen into the field of view of the foreign businessmen. They see in us an enormous potential market for the sale of their product. During recent years, therefore, the USSR has begun to participate actively in all international seminars and conferences devoted to combating drug addiction. Our law enforcement departments have established contacts with their colleagues in a whole number of countries in order to coordinate their efforts in the struggle against this evil.

A Soviet delegation, headed by V. G. Komplektov, the USSR deputy minister for foreign affairs, went to New York for the UN session. The delegation included officials from the USSR KGB, MVD, Ministry of Health, and the Main Administration for Customs Control attached to the USSR Council of Ministers. On the eve of its departure from Moscow, we met with two members of the Soviet delegation who represented the agencies on whom the main weight of the struggle against drug addiction falls in our country. What do they expect from the special session; in their view, how integrated is the Soviet Union in the network of the international drug mafia; and what are the ways for our country to solve the problem?

A. M. Kotlyarov, chief of the USSR MVD administration to combat the illegal drug trade:

—At times, one has occasion to hear that the drug problem is not an urgent one for our country. The United States has 20 million drug addicts and we have 100,000 - 150,000 "all told." They say that it is still too early to be concerned. However, will we only suddenly remember when it thunders!? The trend in the increase of drug addition in the Soviet Union convincingly testifies that if we do not sound the alarm today, tomorrow will be too late.

The recent secrecy hurt us severely. We were separated from hopeful work in the struggle against drug addiction—work which exists in other countries. It is now necessary to actively make up for what has been neglected. Dozens of our specialists have already gone on business trips to Europe and America. I hope that the present UN session will permit new contacts to be established with our colleagues and all that is useful to be drawn from their experiences.

Our ministry's task is, first of all, to combat the producers and users of drugs within our country, although attempts to export from the USSR narcotic substances, which have been produced by us, have recently appeared. They are still isolated ones; however, the prospects can be alarming. In contrast to, for example, Western Europe, the distinctive feature of our country is that we have a colossal raw material base. Hemp alone is freely grown on an area of 250,000-300,000 hectares. Without undertaking energetic measures to destroy these crops and underground laboratories, we could become a large exporter of the deadly poison in several years.

I want to emphasize that today's situation requires the establishment of a single non-departmental agency to coordinate the struggle against drug addiction. I think that this will be reflected in the all-union program to combat crime that is now being developed.

G. N. Chmel, chief of the administration to combat smuggling and violations of customs regulations in the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration for Customs Control:

—According to our data, the international drug mafia still has no strongpoints and firm ties in the Soviet Union. The ruble's nonconvertibility and the relatively weak demand for drugs in our country primarily explain this. Therefore, one can say that outside factors are still favorable but I am sure that this is a temporary situation.

This frightful evil can only be defeated by working together. That is why we are now trying to expand our ties with our foreign colleagues as much as possible. The Soviet Union already has bilateral agreements with Italy, the FRG, France, the United States, England, and Canada. We are effectively exchanging the required information, including that on new ways to conceal drugs and train personnel for our departments. A whole series of joint operations—so-called monitored deliveries where our employees intentionally allow transit goods, in which drugs have been detected, to travel across Soviet territory—have already been conducted. This permits the recipients of the cargo to be arrested at the arrival points. A trial of drug mafia leaders was recently held in London and five individuals received long terms. One of our employees, who followed the travels of the freight—which was valued at more than 10 million pounds sterling—across the territory of the USSR, was a witness at the trial.

The Soviet Union is also participating in the work of all international customs organizations, including the Council of Customs Cooperation.

Recently, one has frequently had occasion to hear that the use of our territory for the transit of drugs from Asia to Europe and America will sharply grow in the next few years. This is primarily connected with the intensification of the struggle against the drug mafia in Latin America. We are prepared for this splash. However, the technical equipment still leaves much to be desired—all instruments for monitoring the road. We are offering help in equipping customs inspection points in the Soviet Union to our foreign colleagues. If they arrive at this, the benefit will be mutual.

KGB Foils Turkmen Drug, Contraband Operation
90WD0191B Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian
17 Feb 90 p 4

[Article by Ye. Prikhodko and Yu. Tokarenko: "Our Own 'Octopus'...."]

[Text] Turkmen SSR—Legal proceedings involving members of organized criminal groups, which are engaged in large-scale drug sales, have taken place in the Turkmen SSR Supreme Court. Money, gold and other valuables, which have been gained by criminal means and valued at 1.3 million rubles, have been returned to the state.

Silver and carnelian are the symbols of health and happiness. So the Turkmens have thought since olden times. Today, Rozyguly Rakhimov has neither the one nor the other. For him, the ancient national ornaments became a current type of currency for the purchase of drugs.

Consumed by the opium poison, he looks like an old man at the age of 37. Six years incarceration with his property confiscated and his sentence to be served in a corrective labor colony under strict conditions—such was the court's sentence.

... This occurred at the border. They acted as they had arranged: Rakhimov gave Sergey V., a border troop soldier, silver ornaments and coins. In accordance with a previously prepared plan, the latter carried them across the cordon to exchange them for Afghan opium (eight polyethylene packages had been prepared for the drug). Rozyguly had made all manner of promises. You see, the drug delivery channel, which had been opened up, could become a gold vein.

However, Sergey was an honest man and the smuggling deal was thwarted by the republic's KGB employees. The arrest red-handed put an end to the drug seller's criminal activity. Pulling on this thread, the investigation moved on to an organized criminal group that had been engaged in the drug traffic for a number of years in the Chardzhou, Kerkinskiy and Khodzhanbasskiy rayons of Turkmenia. Ye. Ymamov, T. Khanymkulov, Kh. Dovletov, Zh. Abbasov, O. Boriyev, Yu. Shagulov, and A.

Abdurakhmanov appeared before the court along with Rakhimov. They received from four to ten years incarceration. Part of the people, who were involved in the drug traffic, appeared in court.

Clientele from all Turkmenistan thronged to the most remote area of the republic—to the opium traders. An Amu Darya river crossing had been carefully prepared for the buyers. When they wished, the messengers being serviced could get the goods at home also. There was a fixed rate of up to 150 rubles per gram of opium. A drug addict needs two-three grams a day.... The business was built on the broken health of a multitude of people. The facts, given altogether in the 50 pages of the sentence, testify to its scope more eloquently than anything else. Here is only one episode.

"In December 1987, Rakhimov illegally purchased from Abdurakhmanov, an inhabitant of the Termezskiy Rayon in the Uzbek SSR, 100 grams of opium (teryak) for 3,000 rubles in accordance with a previous agreement with Ymanov. When he reached the Turkmen SSR, he sold them for 5,000 rubles that same month. He illegally acquired from an inhabitant of the Chandyr settlement in Uzbekistan's Kashka-Darya Oblast 18.5 kilograms of the narcotic substance, koknar, for 16,700 rubles. Having delivered this drug to Chardzhou Oblast, he sold it and received a total profit of 4,000 rubles."

The commissions for the transit of the goods and for the risk grew over time. Along with packages of notes, Japanese video sets, Zhiguli, Nivy, and gold coins served to pay for the drugs.... One of the drug sellers, T. Khanymkulov—a kolkhoz cinema operator with a modest salary of 120 rubles, was able to lend goods worth 15,000 rubles to his out-of-town clients. Subsequently, the generosity was repaid a hundredfold. He had his own method for trading: He kept one gram of the poison out of every ten for himself for his "work." The morals and manners in this criminal group reminded one of the old adage: "The thief stole the bludgeon from a thief". When reselling drugs to each other, the sellers mixed in all sorts of rubbish and diluted it with water and flour.

After the much-talked-about Italian film, it became popular to compare organized crime to an octopus. This is extremely correct also in this case. The tenacious tentacles of the drug business enmeshed people in their smothering embrace and penetrated into society's structure. In the spring of 1987 when one of the convicted people, Ymamov, was on vacation in Leningrad and living well, police officials found two metal flasks with 11.5 kilograms of koknar buried in a barn in the courtyard of his father's home in the village of Surkhi. However, they hushed the affair up at the time. During the trial, Ymamov gave the names of his protectors in the rayon department of internal affairs who, based on his testimony, did not help him at all out of gratitude.

The all-powerful, 32 year old work superintendent in the Khodzhanbasskiy repair and construction administration of the Turkmen SSR Ministry of Consumer Affairs

was able, for example, to exchange one machine for another with a dazzling bold-toothed smile and without particularly straining and to draw up in an hour documents for his guest from Ashkhabad for an automobile that he purchased from Ymamov. Professional singers and musicians from the oblast philharmonic society performed enthusiastically at the picnics of the drug traffickers and their rich clients. The dealers also had an entrance into other areas.... For example, 15 live cartridges for the Makarov pistol, which a servicemen had left as a deposit, were found with the convicted Zh. Abbasov (an important item: the 37-year-old criminal worked in the police at one time and, having been caught, skillfully dragged out the investigation and delayed the trial). As was already mentioned, the criminals tried to build a bridge with the border troops....

As the old adage says: "When a bird's mating place becomes a bog—it is a disaster for all birds." The drug traffic quagmire drags in everyone who enters onto this slippery road—even if only once. The meetings of the drug dealers were caught on video tape. During the trial, Ymamov stated that the sellers, who were tied together, were not able to leave the "game" even if they wished.

Having in mind those, from whom he had purchased teryak on Uzbekistan's territory and—so to speak—his closest "colleagues", Ymamov said: "They forced me. They would order me to open a stall to sell drugs—I would open it..."

Colonel V. Boyko, the chief of the investigative department of the Turkmen SSR KGB, says: "Like cornered wolves, the participants in these groups have recently become more and more crafty, resourceful and sly. The damming up of the drug delivery channels has inflated prices: Four years ago, a kilogram of teryak cost 25,000 rubles on the black market but today it is already at 150,000. This forces dealers to wage everything and make their 'work' methods tougher. They are providing themselves with firearms and it is not simple to arrest them. In addition, the criminals often threaten investigators and the members of their families and try to compromise persons, who are participating in the unmasking, in every way possible. There is another new characteristic feature—racketeering among the drug traffickers."

The time has come for glasnost to illuminate the enormous work which the chekists have performed and are performing to dam up drug delivery channels from beyond the cordon. This has special importance in a republic which has 2,350 kilometers of common border with contiguous states. It is also impossible to close one's eyes to the sluice-gates which the war in Afghanistan opened up for the flow of drugs. Thanks to the republic's KGB officials, a central newspaper correspondent, who

was accredited to that country, a group of officers from the senior command staff and employees from the Kushinskaya Customs House were found out and subsequently convicted. During the last three years alone, the republic's KGB has handed over more than 400 kilograms of raw opium to the pharmaceutical industry to make medicines, saving the state an enormous amount of currency. Can one count from how many people they have removed misfortune?....

However, it would be naive to set all one's hopes in the struggle against drug trafficking only on the work of law enforcement agencies.

B. Niyazov, a member of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet who presided over one of the trials, has said: "Drug traders feel that they are the masters of life. The saddest thing is that public opinion in the republic is still very passive regarding traders in the drug poison. In the eyes of some, they are simply heroes—people who are able to live and make money. Everyone in the okrug knew about the shady deals of Rakhimov and his accomplices. Everyone knew that they were only formally registered—who was a worker in the rural Pioneer camp, who was a worker in the medical epidemiological post and who was a fireman. Meanwhile, they issued testimonials, even up to and including awards, to the criminals from work places from which they were absent for weeks at a time....

During the "Poppy-89" operation in Turkmenistan which stopped the sorry drug leadership in the country, 111 illegal opium poppy and Indian hemp crops were found and destroyed. A total of 73 of them were on personal plots; 38—on land in the state sector; and 19—in places difficult to reach: deserts and foothill areas. There were cases where a future crop of the poison was being carefully grown in hothouses. No matter how sad it is, there were quite a few of the rural intelligentsia—a teacher, doctor and cultural and educational workers—among those who were growing the poppies and hemp.

According to official data, 5,124 people use drugs in the republic. According to police estimates, there are 250 drug sellers and 30 of them have interregional ties. True, these drug business sharks, as soon as they are convicted, are not counted among them although they have been in control of their dark business for a number of years almost openly. Possibly, it is necessary to make up a correction factor using other figures? However, what would be its value?

... On 30 November 1989, two smugglers, who tried to make a deal for drugs with the inhabitants of Afghan border settlements, were caught red-handed in the sector of one border post. One of the smugglers was a village teacher....

Reasons for Popularity of Certain Central TV Programs Studied

90US0528A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 6 7 Feb 90 p 8

[Article by Lidiya Polskaya: "TV Popularity Index"]

[Text] 1. "Vzglyad" 2. Broadcasts from the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet 3. "Before and After Midnight" 4. "Cinema Streamers" 5. "The Cheerful and Quick-Witted Club" Game Show 6. "Seven Days" 7. "What? Where? When?" 8. "120 Minutes" 9. "Around the World" 10. "Morning Mail"

My intuition did not fail me—or maybe it was experience that suggested it—but in any case I was right a year ago when I decided to make my predictions for 1989, for I did not expect any great changes on TV. The unscientific forecast came true almost in full, but that almost is highly conspicuous, for no one could have imagined that the coming congresses and sessions would be the most fascinating spectacle of the year. Let the venerable "Vzglyad", which remains at the head of the index, forgive me, but that impact and impression—either instilling hope or despair, but invariably edifying—which those broadcasts from the Kremlin made on all of us—no, television has not yet invented a similar show.

The broadcasts chased the second all-union channel off TV screens, and no one shed a tear for it, remembered it or felt sorry for it. This is the problem with TsT [Central Television]: one of its channels suddenly goes away but no one cares—what was there, anyway?

Political scientists write now that last year was the year of peak politicizing of society. The impetus occurred at the outset, when the election campaign began, containing many unpredictable and dramatic things. Its intricacies were reflected in leaflets, newspapers and rallies, as well as on local TV. I can not speak of all local programs, but I mean Moscow and Leningrad ones. And TsT, our dear comprehensive entity which—at least in theory—should be the all-Union, all-powerful and all-seeing eye—where was it, what did its eye see in local battles and what did it show us in its main programs to inform and summarize, and even to admonish with cautionary tales those who have successfully plowed their beloved and huge field of lawlessness for so many years? Can you recall it? No? Right, for there were no such programs.

Then, we were admitted to the congresses and Supreme Soviet sessions. Television provided technical means and nothing else, without adding any commentary. It is no business of ours to advise professionals, but it is admissible in this country to do so in the form of viewers' suggestions. I as a viewer wished this whole year that the interregional group, which on two congresses failed to find a common language with their fellow-deputies speaking from the podium, spent some time talking to the people from the television screen. The

same was true of the agrarian faction: they are also unhappy because no one heard them. Could TsT not devote, say, two hours a week to fight political illiteracy and to explain various political platforms? I think that any viewer, after leafing through the weekly schedule at his leisure, could find a spot for it. There is, of course, no doubt that members of the interregional group would hold the interest of the viewers.

At least, the recent "Fifth Wheel" segment featuring four USSR people's deputies Yuriy Boldyrev, Anatoliy Denisov, Anatoliy Sobchak and Aleksandr Shchelkanov was the main topic of conversation in Moscow on the following day.

I am almost certain that in response to my heretical, poorly thought out idea to allow the group on television the State Committee for Television and Radio would come up with numerous explanations full of highest political wisdom, arguing why such deputy hours, to be broadcast live on television, would not be useful. Maybe it will even use the results of our poll, saying: "Look what the viewers want to see."

True, there is but one political program (the broadcasts from the Kremlin) in the index, plus two mixed political and entertainment reviews and two news programs; the rest—a full half—are pure entertainment. It would seem that the viewers get what they want: why ascribe to them an appetite for politics if they only want circuses?

I wish it were true.

Our ratings for last year reflect the state of television, the way it was, not the tastes of our countrymen and not their true preferences. The shows that did not exist could not make it on the list of the best.

At his first press conference, Mikhail Fedorovich Nenashev, the new chairman of the State Committee for Television and Radio, proposed a new triad—new because there already had been one, but developed in the distant past, to be frank: to inform, to convince and to comfort. I do not think there is anything new in it, except for the word triad. In the past, television did the same thing, but while informing and convincing it comforted us by concealing various defects in the structure of the state system. The new minister thinks that television does not provide enough emotions and that the balance should be restored. I do not want to say that there is enough comforting—i.e., entertainment—on the screen. No, there is too little of it. There has been more informing, but one would like to see it become more exhaustive and up-to-date. It is the convincing that we have too little of. Only ballast—rebroadcasts, documentaries and concerts to fill in the gaps, as well as old tired programs, the legacy of the old TV which hangs on it like ball and chain—is plentiful. Yet, since a situation has arisen in the country whereby emotions are probably most strongly affected by politics, I think that the combination of rational and emotional should be captured, used and played on in various programs, getting rid of the ballast. One would not want to see the part of the

triad called comfort be understood in a literal, direct and superficial sense. It is to provide comfort (if mass hypnosis can be called so) that they put Kashpirovskiy on television. But shows discussing factions and oppositions may also provide comfort—and quell passions and allay fears, too.

The new tendency to provide comfort has already been reflected in news programs: "120 Minutes" is rapidly losing its purpose and meaning, and its news value will soon reach zero. In my opinion, it suffers from endless experimentations. "Seven Days", too, has begun to comfort us: I am talking about that unsuccessful, in my view, broadcast on January 28 which, despite the plethora of recent events, had barely enough news to fill a third of the show while the rest of it was a lifeless discussion of brooms, the artist Vasilyev, the story by Aleksandr Tikhomirov and issues of tax reform. On the preceding day, as is well-known, "Pamyat" had literally been at the walls of TsT, but TsT did not care. It did not see it, following its new direction to comfort, which is, one must note, quite tendentious and selective.

We let television get away with a lot since this entity is not wholly free of pressures from above, from highest ideological authorities. However, at his press conference, the chairman of the State Committee for Television and Radio tried to persuade journalists that no such pressure remains and that the era of guiding telephone calls—both before and after broadcasts—was gone. This is all the more surprising. One must conclude that the committee manages itself in such a way that in the course of a politically extremely eventful year it did practically nothing and came up with no political statement of its own. Even when it tried to do so (as in "Timely Interview"), success eluded it. Since it can no longer point a finger upward with a significant look (if this is really true), then we must speak of self-censorship, defects in the structure of TV and the fact that the centralized, monopolizing monster of ministerial, production and creative activities known as the State Committee for Television and Radio can not, hard though it may try, successfully track the moods and demands of society.

Now one often hears from the TV screen that they are state television. Is this reminder meant to scare us? Something like: "Don't stick your nose into it, you may get hurt." Or does this delineate a limit which may not be transgressed? The limiting meaning of this warning is clear. One thing I can not understand, though. What is this warning against, except statements which contradict the constitution? It is now, when new attitudes of the state toward property, peasantry and the courts are being formed, that television should reflect the whole range of opinion; yet, it remains mired in the same position it had when a supreme and single ideological line was given: that state-supported, monopoly TV must reflect common interests, seek a balanced view and not fall into extremes. The diligent pursuit of these, probably quite reasonable instructions has led to a situation whereby, after endlessly searching for ideal balance, state television differs sharply from our society. This is why I dare

follow the minister's footsteps (even though I may not be so highly placed) and propose a different triad: party ideological authorities, television and the viewers. There is no harmony among the parts of the triad. The relationship is an old one, that of vertical subordination. Parliament, which appoints the minister and approves the budget of the committee, has nothing to do with the triad, even though in its capacity as the organ of people's power it could easily replace the first component of the trinity. Then, we might begin to see cardinal changes.

Thus far, classes in political self-education are given in the street. In Moscow, for instance, they take place daily on Pushkin Square. No one has ever seen TsT cameras there: direct broadcast is once again essentially reduced to nothing, even though there are plenty of events requiring immediate reaction. In vain did I search the channels last Sunday for any live broadcast from the grandiose Moscow rally in support of perestroika. Was it TsT itself that got cold feet? Or was it simply that it had not received its marching orders?

What many critics, including myself, had welcomed as the onset of the grand new times on TV, turned out to be but a softening, or a liberalization, on the screen. We are tired by now of saying about broadcasts that something like this could not be possible a few years ago.

Ten best programs did not include "Television Introduction". I dare to suggest that television itself was to blame for this. After being passionately enamored in Uermas Ott in 1988, TsT then grew cool on that program for no obvious reason. In the same manner, by showing it very rarely, the viewers were successfully weaned from "12th Floor". Since recently "Television Introduction" appeared on Central Television once again, I do not have the professional right to write that the program was cancelled. But why was it held behind, like a deficit good at a retail store? The reason why it is done at the store is clear, while the purpose of the TV authorities is not. Do they object to the guests featured on the show? Is its artistic level too low? The authorities did not bother to explain this to the viewers, feeling apparently that some situations, circumstances and considerations are internal in nature. I, for one, think that television can stoke viewer interest not only with its programs but also by revealing secret information about itself. This will not hurt, as it does not hurt Western television when the mere intention of a TV star or a talk show host to switch from the state channel, for instance, to the private one is discussed openly in the press. But we can only dream of such openness. Our television reacts very nervously even to ordinary criticism of its products.

At his press conference, M.F.Nenashev repeated verbatim the thesis which I had heard from his two predecessors as TV ministers. Its essence can be summarized by the following: television does not pester or criticize the newspapers, but the newspapers attack television at the slightest pretext, and even though the newspapers themselves often kill proposed articles, it always remains their internal matter.

There is nothing one can do about the unfortunate fact that television, unlike the newspapers, must provide the program in advance, and can not hide it when it fails to meet its obligations. This causes surprise, complaints and criticism from viewers. This is how it has been and will always be. I do not think that TV programs will disappear, but public opinion will continue to express itself, too, just as it did on New Year's Eve, when "Vzglyad" was not shown.

The incident with the New Year's Eve "Vzglyad" was not so minor. It would not hurt to return to it now, a month later: it was a trial balloon, an experiment which showed their place both to the producers of "Vzglyad" and to the viewers. TsT announced in response to the explosion of viewer indignation that "Vzglyad" had not be shown due to its rather low artistic merits. What a neat reason! But by the same token, more than one show could be pulled on any given day, and yet... There have been weak "Vzglyad" programs, it can not be denied. Why did TsT decide to spare our esthetic sensibilities this time? The viewers must have thought that the true reasons were different. As a result, a rumor spread that in the dead of night four men wearing hats and raincoats had come and impounded the reels. Rumors, however, always tend to romanticize everything and have their own dynamics. In reality, was much more prosaic. One boss watched the show and did not like something in it, then another one did and also did not like it, then they all got together and decided to kill the show, later rejecting the production team when it tried to salvage the segment overnight. These are old, well-known tricks of acting via telephone out of the office. You have a weekly program, you say? So what? Skip a week, that all. Naturally, such an internal matter was bound to come out. Does criticism of such actions offend TV people?

No matter how much TV officials complain about criticism, it will not go away. TV is public entertainment. This is why it is wrong to compare it to the press, even though they belong to the same ranks of mass information media. TV is always on view and it is always subjected to criticism, just like literature, theater or cinema.

How can one not blame television if, as though wishing to hurt itself, it still can not rid itself of ballast and make "Fifth Wheel" and Moscow shows by Vladimir Pozner into all-union broadcasts. What is the reason for this? It is clear that there will be more TV viewers in this case. But it is hard to tell, what is good for TsT and what is not. In any case, it does not have to worry about the number of its viewers. The budget has been allocated, plus the commercial channel and commercials on the first two channels bring some income. No alternative or cable TV will arise soon, if only due to some very real problems and technical and financial difficulties. As to the TV we have today, it probably wants to be better and is striving hard, but does not succeed because here, as in the economy, monopoly has exhausted its possibilities and is past its peak. Glasnost within monopoly is very limited. This is why it is impossible not to notice the

discrepancy between what we see on the television screen every day and the words of the chairman of the State Committee for Television and Radio that "we can not have it easier than the country," and that "radio and television can not be more attractive and more virtuous than life itself."

Please, take another look at the list of the ten best shows in the readers' poll. Do they reflect the words of the minister and reality? Responses to other questions in the popularity survey support my hypothesis: the viewers watch what they can get but would like to see different shows.

The best television talk show host was Vladimir Molchanov.

Almost half of all respondents picked Vladimir Molchanov as the best host, a tribute to his professionalism and, of course, his program, "Before and After Midnight". It is clear, but I do not think that this is all. The choice of Molchanov is a protest against the street in the broadest meaning of the word. Against rudeness, filth, anger, ugliness, lines and spontaneous arguments. This is a way for the viewers to reject the face of daily reality, by picking a man who appears on the screen in a forgotten and, apparently, Netherlands image of propriety. But I do not think that Molchanov would have ended up first had he merely demonstrated his elegance and screen charm. His show is a mixture of good taste, professionalism that is rare on TsT and the kind of drama that only one or two other shows have yet achieved. Exclusivity and democratism, a strange, discredited but still very natural combination, made Vladimir Molchanov the best.

We asked to name one best host, but it is also interesting to see who came after him, making it to the finals. They represent the mood of that raucous, foul-mouthed, fighting and by now even battling street: Mark Zakharov, who with his sharp wit seems too constrained within his show on cinema; Aleksandr Nevzorov; "Vzglyad" hosts Aleksandr Lyubimov, Aleksandr Politkovskiy, Vladimir Mukusev, Dmitriy Zakharov and Vladislav Listyev; Vladimir Pozner and Vladislav Tsvetov, the first international commentators to turn to the internal agenda, and Aleksandr Tikhomirov, the commentator from "Seven Days".

On our first list, political programs were in a minority. But according to the second poll, practically all the best hosts came from politics-related programs. Viewer interest was centered on them.

This is corroborated by the answers to the third question.

The television man of the year was Anatoliy Kashpirovskiy.

Here it is, the yearning for a miracle and the sign of fatigue. The government says that it can not give everything to everybody at once. Kashpirovskiy says: sit in front of the TV set and tomorrow your tooth will be

pulled for you painlessly. Naturally, it is easy to believe in it, especially if you do not have to go to the dentist the next day.

Central television invited Kashpirovskiy to fulfill the comfort part of its program. Approximately one out of three, to judge from the responses we got, wanted precisely such comfort. But two thirds chose other heroes, all from the same area, from among political figures; in other words, according to our poll, they came from the single, most politicized program, the parliamentary broadcasts.

It is an impressive picture: Alla Pugacheva, Artem Tarasov and Michele Placido (imagine!) got only as high as 30th to 32nd place. All higher spots were taken up by government members Mikhail Gorbachev, Nikolay Ryzhkov, Anatoliy Lukyanov, Leonid Abalkin and Eduard Shevardnadze, and the most active members of parliament, such as Yuriy Afanasyev, Boris Yeltsin, Gavriil Popov, Anatoliy Sobchak and Yuriy Chernichenko. And of course Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov.

I think that it was most difficult for Mikhail Gorbachev and Andrey Sakharov to gain recognition. Sakharov had to win over thousands of viewers who saw him for the first time. Gorbachev had a more difficult problem: he had to preserve his prestige during an extremely difficult year from the political and economic point of view, when social fatigue began to turn into social tensions, at a time when goods shortages grew, strikes broke out and ethnic conflicts emerged. Gorbachev was the crux of hope and disappointment. This is the fate of the president. Now, when the situation in Transcaucasia can be justly called civil war, we can appreciate Gorbachev's pursuit of compromise which is out of favor in this country but which is based on common sense and subtle policy.

One out of five respondents named Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov the television man of the year. This is proof that consciousness and conscience are awakening, and they were probably shocked when the prophet was disgracefully chased from the podium. He did not have a heroic presence, that hero, and no one could call him a brilliant speaker. But he was unique and irreplaceable and this will be increasingly felt. Sakharov's speeches, which were difficult to listen to and irritated or bored some parliamentarians, were apparently heard and understood by those who sat in front of the TV sets. Sakharov was a genius both in science and in politics and calculated his steps several moves in advance, and ultimately politics often turned out to move in his direction.

As a side result of our poll, I think I should list other deputies named by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA readers among candidates for the man of the year. They were S.Alekseyev, G.Borovik, M.Bocharov, Yu.Vlasov,

Yevg.Yevtushenko, D.Likhachev, T.Gdlyan, E.Pamfilova, K.Prunskene, A.Obolenskiy, S.Stankevich, N.Travkin, V.Tikhonov, S.Fedorov, G.Filshin, N.Shmelev, Yu.Shchekochikhin and A.M.Yakovlev.

Those were the results of our popularity poll for 1989. We tried to show how LITERATURNAYA GAZETA readers see our state television, for they are a rather representative part of the country's television audiences.

The press conference at the State Committee for Television and Radio promised many new things for the new year. We are waiting. Once those new things appear, we will conduct another poll.

Central Press 'Disinformation' about Transcaucasia Alleged

90US0558A Yerevan *KOMMUNIST in Russian*
27 Jan 90 p 4

[Article by T. Akopyan: "The Labyrinths of Parity"]

[Text] This TASS report on the "events in Baku" appeared in the newspapers on 13 January of this year. "In the city of Baku groups of hooligan elements provoked disorders and excesses. A tragedy occurred, and humans have fallen victim to it." Now replace Baku by Sumgait, and shift the time back to February 1988. You get almost a literal reflection in the official report concerning the genocide in Sumgait.... Nothing was altered. The same references to hooligans and victims without any indication as to nationality. The hooligans in Azerbaijan are special. Throughout the entire country hooligans simply act like hooligans, but here they kill, burn, rape, and cripple, choosing their victims solely by the criterion of nationality.

Moreover, during these two years certain associations have evolved in the All-Union reader: if this occurred in Baku, therefore, the victims were Armenians. Nothing can be hidden here any longer. And it would be sinful for us, made wise in these two years of political struggle, to carp at shamefully false lines, to complain about certain press organs or certain journalists. But new alarming trends have now appeared, and we cannot remain silent about them.

During the last 10 days IZVESTIYA and PRAVDA have printed more publicistic articles based on events in this region than news as such from the planet's "hot spots." And most of their authors (see, for example, the lead items in IZVESTIYA for 16 and 17 January) link the outburst of violence in Baku and throughout Soviet Azerbaijan with the excesses on the Soviet-Iranian border. The ArSSR Supreme Soviet decisively condemned these unlawful actions, and our republic's press pointed out the far-reaching consequences of these deeds. But the central press reduced these unprecedented actions to the problem of the shortage of arable land, the great desire to "visit relatives on the other side of the border," and the delay in resolving the "Karabakh issue" (!).

But probably not everyone paid attention to the brief item by the political observer I. Belyayev entitled "Talks across the Border," which appeared in the 10 January issue of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. Let me quote some excerpts from it: "Admittedly I anticipated that disorders could have been inspired from Iran. I was mistaken. The events which occurred on the border were entirely and completely derived from the activity of certain informal organizations existing in Soviet Azerbaijan.... I would like to draw attention to the fact that, according to the program cited by the People's Front, the AzSSR should establish 'special relations' with Iran, maintain ties with all other Muslim countries, and join in organizing an Islamic Conference. And now they have begun to talk about a 'separate people or nation.' **But Iran has not supported** this summons (my emphasis—T.A.).

"It seems to me that a clue to solving this puzzle lies in the following: for certain parties it is advantageous to continue playing 'Islamic games' against the Soviet Union. It may help, therefore, to bear in mind that we are hearing more and more frequently about the old ideas of Pan-Turkism under the new historical conditions...."

Let me venture one more supposition. The events on the border were linked with the problem of the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast], and all the savage acts and pogroms in the neighboring republic, along with the overthrow of the Soviet authorities in certain rayons of Azerbaijan are also connected with Karabakh. And since the "Karabakh Conflict" has been introduced very successfully into the awareness of the rank-and-file Soviet person as a case of inter-ethnic strife, an attempt to "redraw" the borders, etc., the blame for the events which occurred should be shared equally between the two republics concerned. This is the notorious "parity," or "even-handedness," about which a great deal has been said. The excesses on the border were not recorded as part of the "parity" policy: one side created disorders, whereas the other side peacefully engaged in its work. And so there was no need to fully illuminate the events in question.

Then there was the matter of the slaughter in Baku and the attacks on Armenian villages. And again the soulless "TASS reports," without any mention of the attackers' nationality. And not until the unpunished actions of the Azerbaijani mob (even after everything which has happened, I do not want to blame the entire nation or people) and the victims among the Armenians enraged and aroused all Armenia did the press become animated: there is parity! Despite the neglect by the political observers of the concept of aggression and self-defense, the main things could be published in two reports together—from Baku and Yerevan, followed by their own comments and evaluations.

Let me cite at random some excerpts from the central press publications: "There are dozens of victims and persons who have suffered of **both nationalities** among the local population" (IZVESTIYA, 16 January). "**Both**

sides are arming feverishly" (TRUD, 17 January). "**Certain forces** are not allowing journalists to function," (loc. cit.). Lieutenant I. Tsymbalyuk and Private M. Mantashev perished." (IZVESTIYA, 16 January). Here too the nationality is not indicated.

After the savage killing of three military-servicemen in Kirovabad during November of the year before last, the editorial offices of the central newspapers were flooded with incoming questions: just who were the killers? And in "answering" them, an article in IZVESTIYA gently reproached these excessively curious readers: is the nationality of the killers really important? The tragedy, they said, lies in the fact that the tragedy occurred, and that people died.

But the nationality is important! No nation wants to be worse than it is, to be blamed for blood that it did not spill.

Good Lord, what is happening here? We mourn for the thousands of our children who perished in the unjust Afghan war, we create committees to free our prisoners of war, we sincerely rejoice for every soldier returned from captivity to his native land.... And here in peacetime, in our own country, kids are dying, dying, to be specific, at the hands of Azerbaijani bandits, while it is proposed that we all withhold answers from the mothers, widows, and orphans who are bowed down with grief. All this has evoked a feeling of protest among the Armenian people along with the bewildered question: why? Therefore, it is not enough to state the fact that the interpretation of events in this region is distorted. We state this often. What we must do is make sense of these facts, and that is something which we do rarely.

The Union-level mass media are beginning to gradually implement, albeit not fully, the freedom of the press, as guaranteed by the Constitution. But the intoxication with freedom, it seems to me, has developed a syndrome of "perestroika infallibility" in many newspapers and journalists. From the "Russian distance" the events in this region are seen from the heights of a bird's-eye view, from which Karabakh looks like a clump of earth to those persons who think in global categories and who possess great-power thoughts. But the inhabitants of this clump of earth were among the very first to disturb the general tranquility. They put their trust in the proclaimed rights of self-determination, and from that time on they have doomed themselves to a struggle for survival.

And so the proclamation of the right of nations to self-determination became in our press one of those "linguistic crimes," to use Orwell's words, something which permits the free compilation of words and concepts, and journalistic creative work is becoming something autonomous and separate from reality. According to Orwell, "linguistic crimes" are inherently characteristic of totalitarian regimes. This definition has also been used by most of our progressively inclined thinkers to designate the system which exists in our country. It

gleams on the pages of the press. No official refutations have ensued. But this same press continues to produce "linguistic crimes." Here is a freshly minted example. In the 17 January issue of PRAVDA the publicist Yu. Shabanov meditates as follows: "National dignity is such a delicate matter that the slightest disparagement of it causes pain and a long-lasting wound." The **slightest disparagement....**Eloquently stated, is it not? Here is a linguistic substitution for an event which really happened in this region: a national-liberation struggle and the efforts to put it down. The slightest disparagement....

One linguistic crime—the myth that the nationality problem had been solved—led, in the final analysis, to clashes, slaughter, and war. Now another myth is being introduced into the public consciousness—to the effect that in the matter of the nationality problem there can be neither winners or losers, conquered or conquerors, and that inter-ethnic strife stabs perestroika in the back.

In order to justify this myth, instead of truthful and precise information, the newspapers inflame the situation. In the issue of 17 January TRUD's special correspondent writes about events in the regions of Azerbaijan bordering on the NKAO without leaving Baku and by drawing on rumors: "Eyewitnesses tell of orange-colored helicopters without identifying marks flying in from the mountains. They fire automatic weapons, machine guns, and rockets onto Azerbaijani villages. There have been instances of armed, bearded fighting men have disembarked from helicopters." Hardly any different than the Armerican invasion of Grenada! The "bearded men" made a suitably domestic touch. Someone somewhere inserted a sentence about Armenian bearded extremists, and it gained currency. Clear and garish.

Something else is likewise noteworthy. The unprecedented actions in Azerbaijan opened the eyes of many people in our country. The policy of "parity," which had "endured" for the last two years was breaking down (for the events in Azerbaijan and on the border cannot be explained as "inter-ethnic strife"). And it is precisely the interference of the mass media which can explain the two-day silence about Armenia and the subject of the Vremya program (20 January), where Armenian fighters were termed civil guardsmen defending, together with internal-affairs troops, the border regions from bandit-type attacks. However, this was the sole "slip-up" of the All-Union news program. On the following day the program entitled "Seven Days," assiduously covered over the "laths" with a carefully measured batch of half-truth. It can be stated with confidence that on this day the foundation was laid for a chain of provocational reports.

Thus, the summary of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Press Center, read by the lead program "Seven Days" and published on 22 January in IZVESTIYA, reported on the blockading by Armenian fighters, armed with automatic weapons, of the village named Artsvashen, which is populated by Azerbaijanis. That's a lie!

Artsvashen is not inhabited by Azerbaijanis. To be sure, the 23 January issue of IZVESTIYA printed a puzzling correction notice in small type, proposing that the words "...the village of Artsvashen, which is populated by Azerbaijanis" should read: "...which is populated by Armenians." But, in that case, it would turn out that Armenians were blockading a village which was inhabited by...Armenians.

The summary also reported that staff workers of the Vardenisskiy ROVD [Rayon Division of Internal Affairs] succeeded in returning previously seized mortars, BMP's [gasoline-motor pumps ?], and 126 pistols; this dumbfounded the rayon's leading officials because, by all the laws of common sense, it is impossible to return items which have not been stolen in the first place.

But whereas such "innocent" mistakes are the only consequence of the policy of "parity" and serve merely to prepare public opinion appropriately, the latest two TASS reports, read on Vremya's lead program on 21 and 22 January and published in several central newspapers (it would be interesting to know—why not in all of them?), bear a patently provative imprint and can only serve to help destabilize the situation in Armenia.

It was loudly announced to the entire Soviet Union that Armenia is witnessing an inflaming of anti-army attitudes and moods, that threats aimed at military-service personnel have become more frequent.... The command staff of the Yerevan Garrison has protested against these fantastic inventions. In numerous interviews for Armenian television enlisted men and officers of the internal-affairs troops, as well as those of the Soviet Army, have emphasized the good wishes and kind feelings of the local population. And our republic has appraised these thoughts and ideas in a worthy manner. Let me not that the head of the political section of the Yerevan Garrison, Major-General M. Surkov, has declared that during the period of the Karabakh conflict **not a single military serviceman who was shifted to Armenia suffered any casualty.**

Our people were also indignant about the second report, one which talked about supposed threats aimed at the Kurds in certain regions of Armenia. Irritated most of all were the Kurds themselves; they specifically asserted once more that this canard, this false rumor would not drive a wedge into the fraternal relations between Armenians and Kurds. And here is something interesting: at the press-conference arranged at the ArSSR Procuracy by members of the Kurdish intelligentsia it was revealed that in the Razdanskiy Rayon, where, if the TASS report is to be believed, the Kurds had begun to be oppressed, there is no Kurdish population! In my opinion, any comments here would be superfluous.

And one last observation. The responses of the world community to the events in the Transcaucasus are being published here in an extremely "selective" manner. From the stream of comments flowing from the foreign press, only those are chosen which fit into the scheme

whereby the events are treated as an "inter-ethnic conflict," the "age-old hostility between these two peoples," etc. Not being published, however, are the assertions of several foreign state leaders (for example, those of Fabius, the chairman of France's National Assembly and a number of American senators to the effect that the present-day events merely reinforce their conviction that the people of the NKAO ought to be guaranteed the right of self-determination....

The present article had already been set up in type when I chanced to come across an article entitled "Seven Days in Baku" (published in the 24 January issue of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA). The reports and summaries from Azerbaijan are beginning to give way to analysis, asking questions such as: just why did all this happen? And the article published in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA may be considered the "first swallow" in a series of future meditations and summarizations. Thus, according to the author of the article, the cause of all these misfortunes was the trying experiences of the 200,000 refugees from Armenia (the "Yerazy" or "Yerevan Azerbaijanis," as they are called in Baku, and this term, as the author notes, is a pejorative there). And it is specifically these refugees who supposedly organize the pogroms in Baku. This concept of the author, undoubtedly borrowed from official circles in Azerbaijan, evokes a number of puzzling questions. Who was it, in that case, who organized the slaughter in Sumgait? And if all the refugees had concentrated in Baku, then who was it who organized and carried out the pogroms in Kirovabad and the excesses at the border? And how did it happen that those Armenians who were deported from Azerbaijan, of whom there were many more and who are living under much worse conditions, have not engaged in similar excesses in Yerevan and other Armenian cities and have retained their dignity as human beings?

Moreover, there are many questions, innumerable ones, all the more so in that we have not been "favored" with replies from those at whom they have been directed. And there can be no doubt that this false concept will gain currency in the pages of the press. And we we not be given a forum in which to speak. It is a pity that during the time of perestroika we are encountering the dictatorship of the press, which has also made its own contribution to the exacerbation of tension and to the disinformation of Soviet people. But does it do any good to scold merely the press? Because, after all, it reflects the real status of our non-lawfully based and undemocratic state, as well as the widespread attitude toward the "Karabakh Conflict."

Armenian Scores Kasparov's Views on Caucasus as Published in SOVETSKIY SPORT

90US0636A Yerevan KOMSOMOLETS in Russian
20 Feb 90 p 1

[E.A. Dzhangulyan, professor, Yerevan: "This Is Falsification!"]

[Text] Response to the article by world chess champion Garri Kasparov, "I Am Ready to Become an 'Intermediary,'" that was published in the 23 January 1990 issue of SOVETSKIY SPORT newspaper.

In expressing your opinion—"...in a conflict like this, nobody is right. The responsibility lies on both sides"—you have thus equated two different concepts: genocide and conflict. Your opinion, of course, is more critical than the opinion of the person who contrived to present publicly the genocide in Fergana as being a tempest in a teapot or a domestic squabble; nevertheless that opinion contradicts the real state of affairs, and can even be described, if you will allow me, as the falsification of reality.

It is very unjust that your authority and your name serve to create an erroneous idea in the mind of the more than 5 million readers of SOVETSKIY SPORT newspaper, who prior to that possibly did not have their own opinion at all about January's alarming events in Baku. This evokes just indignation in many people, because incorrect knowledge is much more harmful than lack of knowledge.

You, of course, could not fail to understand that this is genocide

There is only one reason for the Baku genocide—it lies in the fact that no punishment was meted out to the organizers of the previous genocides in Sumgait, Fergana,...

Is it really just when everyone knows the names of the victims, for example, of the Sumgait genocide, but no one knows whether the criminals were punished?

A curious example is provided by a certain trial (the criminal case against seven of the "national heroes" of the 27-29 February 1988 Sumgait genocide), or, rather, the theatricalized performance: "...in the session hall of the board to handle criminal cases, Azerbaijan SSR, on 22 December 1989 the presiding officer M. Ibayev announces that the court, on the basis of the irrefutability of the evidence, facts, and witnesses' depositions, has accused the defendants of preparing and attempting a crime, the violation of the national equilibrium, participation in mass disorders, rape, looting, robbery, premeditated murder... and has sentenced one of them to 12 years, the others to 8, 7, and 6 years, G. Mamedov, to 4 years, and A. Isayev to 2 years and 3 months" (from the 14 January 1990 issue of the Baku VYSHKA newspaper). Please notice the rich arsenal of legal terminology, instead of a single word—genocide. One might think that those crimes had been committed with the purpose of robbing people, or that the defendants had killed people in a crime of passion, to settle the score, etc., etc. Once again no mention is made of the fact that they had killed people only because they were Armenians. Once again everyone is afraid to pronounce the word genocide. And, consequently, this will be repeated

so long as the Guseynovs, Mamedovs, Isayevs, and their ilk who were guilty of committing it are judged by Ibayevs.

In order to eradicate genocide, in order to prevent recurrences of this monstrous crime, in order to assure that it is never repeated anywhere on earth, we need an international court, in conformity with the decision in the 1948 international convention entitled "Prevention of the Crime of Genocide and Punishment For Having Committed It." I would like to hope that, sooner or later, the inspirers of the genocide will be required to face that Court.

One should not forget that fascism would probably not have been defeated if there had been the Nurnberg trial, that lasted almost a year (from 20 November 1945 through 1 October 1946), the first international court in history that recognized Nazi aggression as being a heinous crime, or if all the progressive nations of the world, all the civilized nations on the planet, had not risen against fascism.

"The detonators of the explosion were the refugees from Armenia"—that statement has been spread far and wide by many newspaper writers, who are already beginning their articles literally with this statement. There has been a buildup of the reasonable question of what or who was the detonator of the "explosion" in February 1988 in Sumgait.

Let us replace the words with figures that have been generally admitted: during the last two years, after the Sumgait genocide, the number of refugee Armenians from Azerbaijan reached 300,000, or 83,000 families, or 8.5 percent of the total population of Armenia. During the same period the number of Azerbaijani refugees who went from Armenia to Azerbaijan came to 157,000, or 27,600 families, or 2.2 percent of the total population of Azerbaijan.

The ArSSR government issued the Azerbaijani refugees (including those who had suffered from the earthquake) monetary compensation totaling 200 million rubles. If one desires to do so, one can easily be convinced that the number of Armenian refugees, as expressed in percentage terms, is greater by a factor of 3.8 than the number of Azerbaijani refugees, and that for every family of Azerbaijani refugees in Azerbaijan there are three apartments, or three separate homes, that were left behind there by the Armenian refugees. Naturally, the material status of the Azerbaijani refugees was incomparably better. Consequently, your statement that the Azerbaijani refugees had killed the nonindigenous nationalities in Azerbaijan because they were hungry and homeless does not agree with the facts or conform to reality.

You regret that you are being forced to leave your hometown, the city where you were born and where you grew up. You are leaving it because your family is an "international bouquet": your father is a Jew, your mother is an Armenian, your wife is Russian, and you

are a resident of Baku. But if all of you—your father, your mother, and you yourself—were Azerbaijanis, you still would be forced to leave the city, since your wife is not Azerbaijani. You are not an exception: for example, Mamed Abdulayev (we must give him full credit for being bold enough not to conceal his name) has two children and five brothers, three of whom are married to Armenians—their apartment also was broken into by people carrying out a pogrom, and the Abdulayevs, after being miraculously saved, had to leave their hometown of Baku (RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA newspaper, 27 January 1990).

But let us return to the title "I Am Ready to Become an Intermediary." It must be said that today it is obvious to every sensible individual that no intermediaries are needed in genocide. There is no conflict here that has to be resolved by them. There are no conflicting sides that have to be reconciled. In genocide there is only one common enemy of mankind as a whole, an enemy which must also be annihilated by mankind. And that enemy is EVIL. Children, women, and old men who are guilty only of belonging to a particular nation are INNOCENT. Is it really necessary to have an intermediary between EVIL and INNOCENT people, between the perpetrator of a crime and the victim, or, finally, between the living and the dead, in order to reconcile them?

I shall end by using the famous quotation from Adam Smith, the prominent English philosopher of the eighteenth century: "In order to teach people to love justice, it is necessary to show them the results of injustice."

Editor's note. At the author's request, the fee paid for this article has been deposited to the fund to aid refugees from Azerbaijan.

Armenian Publisher Faults KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Article on Refugees

90US0636B Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
20 Feb 90 p 3

[Article by Sos Movsisyan, director of the Luys Publishing House: "By Accident or By Malice?"]

[Text] In its 10 February 1990 issue KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA printed an interview given to O. Khvostunova by Aleksey Lebedev, president of the International Association for the Study of Unemployment and Homelessness. The interview had the title "People Who Do Not Exist."

In that interview A. Lebedev, discussing unemployment in the USSR, loudly asserts that for a long time the association has been seriously studying the problems of unemployment and internal refugees. But after reading the entire article, we justifiably begin to doubt the seriousness of those assertions.

Touching upon the refugees' problems, the "seriously studying" president cites as one of the causes of unemployment the "tragic events in Fergana, Novyy Uzen..."

And that's all. He "forgets" to mention the tragedy in Sumgait, where fascist groups carried out in an organized manner monstrous, bestial pogroms against the Armenians, pogroms that laid the beginning for the mass departure of refugees, and that were a kind of example for other similar events.

This is not accidental forgetfulness. There is something else to be considered. Lebedev and Khvostunova write about the internal refugees that they are "departing or, if one may speak directly, fleeing from Armenia, Uzbekistan, Moldavia... The reason is the tension in interethnic relations. And we have from 500,000 to 650,000 people like this."

Then nothing else. Not a single word about Azerbaijan. What is this? Lack of information on the part of President (that has a very important sound to it) Lebedev and interviewer Khvostunova, or is it the deliberate distortion of the facts? It can be stated that without a shadow of a doubt it is the latter. Lebedev and Khvostunova obviously do not want to mention the mob actions that have been continuing in Azerbaijan for a long time, and thus they go to great lengths to falsify the real-life situation, as British writer Stevenson says, by remaining silent about it.

If the authors of the interview know the number of refugees who are in the "association's sphere of attention"—whatever that means!—are we really supposed to believe that they do not know that, out of that number, approximately 400,000 are from Azerbaijan alone. Don't they really know that, for two years continuously, hundreds of thousands of people—Armenians, Russians, Jews, and Ukrainians—have been leaving all their property behind and, literally naked and bare-footed, have been fleeing from Azerbaijan in order to save themselves from the monstrous pogroms being carried out by the brutalized pan-Turkists? The president and his interviewer certainly know all of this, but they have "lost" their memory.

Everyone knows that, after the monstrous Sumgait genocide and the murders and pogroms that followed it in Kirovabad, Shusha, Khodzhalu, and a number of other places, there was a mass deportation of Armenians from Azerbaijan, and as a subsequence the 157,000 Azerbaijanis living in Armenia were also forced to leave Armenia last year. That was also promoted by the terrible earthquake in Armenia. Other than this Azerbaijan instance that was forced on us, neither in the past nor at the present time no one—not the Russians, not the Kurds, etc.—has been fleeing, or even simply leaving, Armenia, unlike the situation in Azerbaijan. It is not accidental that from 1959 through 1979, according to the census information, 130,000 Russians have emigrated from Azerbaijan, not to mention the Armenians and Kurds. At the same time the number of Russians in Armenia has increased by 25.5 percent, and Kurds by 95 percent. Are we really supposed to believe that these figures do not say anything to the authors of the interview?

What, then, is the crux of the matter? Can it be that they have actually forgotten the bloody pogroms and murders in Azerbaijan? But the mass media, despite all their subjectivity and pro-Azerbaijani bias, for a long time, especially last month, have been reporting daily not only about the Armenian, but also Russian-speaking (of whom there are already 40,000) refugees from Azerbaijan, who have escaped the hellish nightmares. Can it be that the association president who is "seriously studying the problem" and his interviewer do not read the newspapers and do not watch television? Can it be that they are confusing Armenia with Azerbaijan, as, most regrettably, often happens in the mass media, and does it happen not by accident?

Or can it be that the Aliyev method of accepting visits from the necessary people and the "traditional Azerbaijani custom of tea-drinking" have had their magic effect also upon the authors of the interview, who, with a serious look on their face, present falsified, one-sided facts, counting on the naivete and lack of information on the part of many readers, and who do not want in any instance to offend the "international and hospitable, good" Azerbaijan, where armed gangs continue to carry out their brutal acts, sparing no one—not the old men, the women, or the children.

KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA Marks 70th Anniversary

KazTAG Report

90US0539A Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 25 Jan 90 p 1

[KazTAG report: "KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA's 70th Anniversary"]

[Text] On January 23, a festive meeting was held at the Alma-Ata State Academic Russian Drama Theater imeni M.Yu.Lermontov, dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the newspaper KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, the organ of the Kazakh CP Central Committee and the KaSSR Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers.

U.D.Dzhanibekov, secretary of the Kazakh CP Central Committee, delivered a speech on KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA. (The speech appears on page 2.)

G.Ya.Kozlov, deputy director of the Kazakh CP Central Committee Institute of Party History; Sh.Murtazayev, editor of the newspaper SOTSIALISTIK KAZAKHSTAN; V.S.Volovik, deputy secretary of the party committee of the Karaganda metallurgical complex; V.M.Kozmenko, dean of the journalism department of the Kazakh State University imeni S.M.Kirov; Ye.Kazhibekov, director of the Turkic studies and Kazakh language history department of the KaSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Languages; veteran of journalism N.I.Danilchenko; O.Yu.Nikanov, editor of the newspaper LENINSKAYA SMENA, and G.M.Shalakhmetov, chairman of the KaSSR State Committee for Television and Radio, spoke at the meeting.

F.F.Ignatov, KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA editor, thanked them for the goods words and warm wishes to the publication and assured the gathering that the editorial collective will continue to give all its strength to the cause of implementing revolutionary ideas of renewal of Soviet society and remain an active helper of the party organization and soviet entities of the republic in this important undertaking.

M.P.Sagdiyev, Chairman of the KaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, warmly congratulated the editorial collective of KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA with the 70th anniversary of the publication, wished them to go on employing all their creative energy in the service of the party and the people, and presented a group of employees of the newspaper with honorary certificates of the republic Supreme Soviet, attesting that they were awarded the title of "Kazakh SSR Honorary Cultural Figures".

The meeting was attended by **V.G.Anufriyev**, second secretary of the Kazakh CP Central Committee; Central Committee secretaries **Ye.M.Asanbayev** and **V.I.Dvurechenskiy**; **E.M.Zhakselekov**, head of the KaSSR trade union council; leaders of party and soviet entities of the city, several ministries and artistic unions and representatives of the press and the public from the capital of the republic.

Dzhanibekov Speech

90US0539B Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 25 Jan 90 p 2

[Speech by U.Dzhanibekov, secretary of the Kazakh CP Central Committee: "A Few Words about KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA"]

[Text] We have gathered here to mark the 70th anniversary of one of the oldest and most authoritative organs in the republic, the newspaper KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA. For many years it has been a reliable aide to the republic party organization in the building of socialism, the implementation of Leninist nationalities policy and the development of the living creativity of the masses. All these epopeic, heroic and at time tragic pages of our recent history were reflected in its lively and impassioned lines. In this sense, it is the true record of the life of the republic.

To grasp under what conditions its first issues came out we must, I think, review events of those remote and difficult years. On July 10, 1919, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin signed the decree of the RSFSR Soviet of People's Commissars "On the Revolutionary Committee to Govern the Kirghisian (Kazakh) Lands" which, based on the principles of broad democracy, national sovereignty and self-determination, spoke of the need to delineate the ethnic boundaries of the future republic. Reading Lenin's document, imbued as it was with ideas of federalism, one wonders how far we would have progressed in our development had it not been for Stalin's model of unitarian state that replaced it.

And yet, in the middle of 1919, the territory of the republic was in the midst of a fierce civil war. Even though the peak of Kolkhak's success was already behind him, the power of his regime still extended over a very vast territory. East of Uralsk, Orenburg alone still maintained direct links with Soviet Russia. That was there that the Revolutionary Committee for Ruling the Kazakh Lands came after routing White cossacks, assuming the role of a revolutionary government. It needed a fighting mouthpiece, one that could ensure "the implementation of all decrees of central soviet power in accordance with the life-styles, customs and conditions of the local population" (Lenin), and carry out measures undertaken to develop the economy and culture in the Kazakh steppes.

That was the situation when on January 1, 1920, the first issue of IZVESTIYA KIRGIZSKOGO KRAYA was published, which laid the foundations of the present-day KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA. In the first issue of the paper, the editorial letter stressed that "the primary goal of the publication is to implement the law in the kray and to carry out government acts to direct the life and activities of the population." It also stressed that "after being published in IZVESTIYA, orders become compulsory for all Soviet organizations." At the same time, the editors saw it as their goal to create a printed organ that was not only official but expressed the needs and interests of the vast Kazakh land, a people's newspaper. The first editor of the newspaper was a member of the Kazakh Revolutionary Committee Sedelnikov, who was later replaced by the noted journalist A.M.Lezhava-Myurat, who was able to enliven the publication considerably.

In August 1920, the TsIK [Central Executive Committee] and the RSFSR Soviet of People's Commissars passed a resolution to form the autonomous Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic. Later, a declaration approved by the Kazakh ASSR Soviet Congress declared that the basis for its relations with other nationalities of the country would "henceforth be close and fraternal ties based on mutual trust and understanding."

The upgraded status of the republic called for a higher status of the printed organ published in the republic. In July 1921, the newspaper was renamed STEPNEYA PRAVDA, and its publishers became the party and the TsIK of the republic. The problems of building a nation state now became paramount in the activities of the newspaper. The newspaper organized a competition to write textbooks in the Kazakh language and initiated the translation of the "Adult Reader" into Kazakh as well as popular works by N.I.Bukharin, N.T.Preobrazhenskiy, P.I.Stuchka and others. The newspaper also talked of compiling a new Russian-Kazakh dictionary since the old one was useless.

However, a natural disaster visited on the republic, especially on its western part, eclipsed many problems of peaceful construction. As is well-known, the famine of 1921 was extremely severe. STEPNEYA PRAVDA

wrote: "Disease killed 45 percent to 85 percent of livestock. People eat grass and field mice and look to the future with horror."

Under these unfavorable conditions the New Economic Policy was introduced in the republic. STEPNAJA PRAVDA reported on new forms of property, leasing, concessions, mixed enterprises, tax rates and other concepts of market economy. This way it helped introduce the new policy without missteps and retreats.

It is noteworthy that in 1923 STEPNAJA PRAVDA was already coming out six days a week, on six pages. The newspaper provided broad coverage of economic, cultural and spiritual life in the republic. Here are just two small articles out of the stream of information from those years. "Chimkent Santonin Plant. This is the only factory in the world which processes a unique plant (which is similar to wormwood) to produce santonin. It sell 5,000 kilos a year, mostly abroad. Santonin fetches high prices and is profitable to produce. Of the net profit, 60 percent goes to the republic and 40 percent to the union budget."

"Here (i.e., in Petropavlovsk-Akmolinskiy), a precision instruments shop was set up at the mechanical plant to make typewriters in the Kazakh language. This marks the first instance of typewriters being produced in the area, and it played a decisive role in making the native Kazakh tongue the language of business."

How acutely one feels the lack of such news items today, when we are still unable to produce Kazakh language typewriters in this republic, or other equipment necessary to switch business to the state language.

Life itself suggested subjects for articles at that time. An article signed by Mukhtar Auezov reported that "in the area of Semipalatinsk, five schools for adult Kazakh workers were opened and best instructors were invited."

In 1925, the government of the republic moved to Kzyl-Orda. At the same time, due to the ethnic division with the Turkestan Republic, Kazakhstan received Syrdaryinskaya and Semirechenskaya oblasts. The newspaper SOVETSKAYA STEP (formerly STEPNAJA PRAVDA) began to write about the needs of those territories, and its circulation rose from 2,400 copies to 6,000 copies in 1927.

In May 1929, the capital of the republic moved to Alma-Ata, and starting in August SOVETSKAYA STEP became an organ of the Kazakh Kray CP committee, the Kazakh TsIK, the Alma-Ata district party committee and the district ispolkom.

It was the year of the so-called great change. Goloshchekin was forcing events by all available means. This is what the newspaper wrote about it: "There was a class battle in Yasak. A meeting of poor peasants has never been so emotional. After the meeting, delegates began to call on the poor peasants to join class battle. Pressure was put on the kulak. On the gate of all those who were

subject to boycott, shameful signs appeared, proclaiming: 'Here lives an enemy of the proletarian state. The the doors of the cooperative, the village soviet, the reading house and the club are shut to those who bear the shameful stain of boycott.'"

The system of repression was running full steam. "Uil. Here, 16 land owners were convicted for not turning in their excess grain and 7 traders were charged. Six land owners were convicted for malicious slaughter and wastage of cattle. Two landowners were convicted for resisting operatives. Two operatives were convicted for careless attitude and hurting the grain procuring campaign," wrote the newspaper in its December 26, 1930, issue. Even knowing the situation at the time, one still wonders why so many land owners turned up in the Uil district alone.

It is well-known how those actions resulted in a horrible famine. Incidentally, it was not permitted then to speak openly about the famine. But indirect references to it still appeared on the pages of the newspaper. For instance, this is what a KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent reported from Semipalatinsk in 1933, at the height of the famine: "In kolkhozes served by the Borodulikhino mechanical and technical station, selfish proprietors have banded together to perpetrate massive theft from kolkhoz fields. The class enemy is inventive. They send kids with bags to steal.

"To distract attention from the fields and to remove guards, kulaks and their agents" (the kids, presumably) "attack still unripe individual vegetable plots. At the 'Zavet Ilyicha' kolkhoz, they dug up recently planted potatoes."

This is the kind of testimony from that cruel age that KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA gave us.

At the same time, the newspaper reflected the great changes that were occurring in our republic, and described the pathos of creative labor and the great enthusiasm brought forth by the opportunities that opened before ordinary folks. Together with its readers, it rejoiced in every step forward, however small, helping the country and the republic build the Turkestan-Siberia railroad, the third coal heating station of the country in Karaganda, the Balkhash copper smelting plant, the Chimkent lead plant and enterprises in Ust-Kamenogorsk, Zyryanovsk and Aktyubinsk. The pages dating from those years breathe with the people's faith in the ideals of socialism and in the bright future.

But the newspaper was not spared hard times, either. Bound by Stalin's fetters, it was unable to resist the pressure of the barrack socialism or prevent the slaughter of the best sons and daughters of Kazakhstan. The newspaper itself suffered losses. Even his Aesopian language did not save Nikolay Verkhovskiy, its editor, or other employees, from Stalin's camps.

Today, from the vantage point of time, we must admit that no distortions and perversions of socialism could

kill the great faith of the Soviet people in the correct course charted by Lenin or their dedication to the cause of the October revolution. This was proved with previously unseen force during the Great Patriotic War.

KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA spent those years on its post, rallying the people to repulse Hitlerite invaders and to contribute their unreserved, selfless labor at the home front. In those years, many moving articles appeared on its pages. I will cite just one example. KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA was the only newspaper in the country whose reporters published 28 separate articles on every one of the 28 Panfilov guards. The material collected by them still remains unique and is awaiting further study.

Dozens of employees of the newspaper fought at the front. Among those who gave their lives for the motherland are journalists Bard, Varlamov, Vlasenko, Linov, Megorskiy, Ostapets, Petrashko, Yuferov and Yakushkin.

I have dwelled at length on the history of the newspaper during those years because we have not yet fully understood the role and significance of KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA at that time. Not all of the articles published then can now be called objective, since they were written to support one or another concept and followed the conditions of the time. Much has to be rethought now. We can not delay with this business, since the careless attitude to documentary evidence of our history and culture has left its mark on newspaper archives from the 1920s and 1930s. There is not a single copy of IZVESIYA KIRGIZSKOGO KRAYA in Kazakh archives, only photocopies in the republic book chamber. The copies of other predecessors of KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA are in a sorry state, as are other newspapers. I think that it is the civic and moral duty of every newspaper to preserve its heritage. We must find money and time to xerox at least those copies that are in danger of perishing. The Central Committee will assist you in every way in this undertaking.

The subsequent life of the newspaper passed before the eyes of the current generations. We remember the great organizational work by KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA during the postwar economic boom, especially in the years when the virgin and frontier lands were being conquered and giant industrial projects were being built in the republic. At that time, the internationalist essence of the Soviet people revealed itself with great force, as did their collectivism, ideological probity and faith. The newspaper loudly proclaimed the telltale signs of the new times and rallied the people to record labor feats. Many remember the work of the journalists during the building of Kazakh steel plants, where a temporary editorial bureau was set up. It published supplements for SOTSIALISTIK KAZAKHSTAN and KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA which provided great assistance to party organizations and economic entities in solving

very important problems at the construction projects. There were many such glorious deeds in the history of the newspaper.

I must say that by nature KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA has never been docile or meek. The newspaper has always known how to raise acute issues, argue its point of view and defend the honor and dignity of people. Now we frequently hear complaints about the press being too pliant during the period of stagnation. But if we look back at the issues of the newspaper dating from the recent past, we will see that even then life flourished on its pages. Naturally, it had to pay its dues to the age. There was the famous mania for reports and loud fanfare for the achievements of the so-called developed socialism. To be honest, we all suffered from the same symptoms. But reading the lines of the not-yet-yellowed pages one sees that the pen of the journalists was brave even in those years and they continued to speak of serious shortcomings. For instance, the subject of the environment was raised by the newspaper even before it became fashionable, just as KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA continued to raise alarm about the problems of our economy, lack of social security and other negative phenomena. The truth, of course, had to be pushed through with great difficulty and required great courage on the part of its editorial staff. But they remained faithful to their calling and duty.

The newspaper has always known how to gather healthy forces around it and became a school for many journalists; many famous scientists and cultural figures considered it an honor to write for it. Sabit Mukhanov and Ivan Shukhov collaborated with KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, Olga Berggholts worked there, Kanysh Satpayev and Yevgeniy Brusilovskiy wrote regularly for it. Leafing through old issues, one comes across such names as legendary General Lukas (Mate Zalka), Dzhambul, Konstantin Paustovskiy, Samuil Marshak and Sergey Mikhalkov.

The newspaper has built a strong corps of volunteer local correspondents among workers and peasants. Representatives of the working class and peasantry have always used the newspaper to express their pressing problems and it acted as a catalyst for many a debate.

The time of revolutionary changes ushered in by the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum filled the sails of KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA with fresh wind. Together with the entire Soviet press, the newspaper lent its warm and active support to the ideas of perestroika, actively joined the work of renewal in all aspects of our life and has been doing much to spread the processes of democratization and glasnost.

Its pages present emotional discussions about the approval of new approaches to party work and debates about complex issues of socio-economic development in the republic. The party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the republic often pass resolutions on issues first raised by KAZAKHSTANSKAYA

PRAVDA. It is enough to recall the in-depth investigative reports by the newspaper on problems facing smaller cities. Today, it applies the same persistence and principled approach to the issue of socio-economic development of remote countryside. It also does much to carry out the current agricultural policy of the party, restructure the economic system on the countryside and develop new industrial and economic forms of management.

Ahead of the 28th CPSU Congress and the 17th Kazakh CP Congress, the newspaper is initiating an important debate on the role and place of primary party organizations in party renewal.

Readers like the fact that the newspaper has become much more polemical, dynamic, fresh. It is also important that the people's concerns, needs and misfortunes always find understanding in the hearts of its journalists. The issue of moral health of society, its spiritual development and social security is getting in-depth treatment on the pages of the newspaper. It is not an accident that the flood of readers' letters continues to grow every year and that now it amounts to 40,000 letters a year.

In short, there is plenty of useful experience, fruitful undertakings and good initiatives. But times poses ever newer, important challenges to the collective and its leaders.

The public in the republic expects the newspaper to pay even closer attention to harmonizing ethnic and inter-ethnic relations, especially as far as the language is concerned, and to uncovering instances of patronizing; it is waiting for bright, exciting articles about the strengthening of the friendship of the peoples. The blank spots of history also require more attentive treatment. In fact, KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA must provide a journalistic analysis of processes under way in the republic.

The power of the authoritative party word distilled into newspaper lines is needed as never before to rally all forces in society around the platform of perestroika, create the climate of stability and certainty about the future, ensure normal conditions for stable labor and socio-political situation in the republic and provide firm guarantees of broad rights of man and a more humane social system.

Party organizations and soviet bodies expect major support from the newspaper. We are currently in great need for a well thought-out, profoundly convinced, impassioned and constructive debate on ways to bolster the authority of the party and to develop new approaches to crucial problems of the time and to the task of learning political leadership methods. The issue of rebuilding soviets along the lines envisioned by Lenin requires a similar discussion, as does the topic of asserting our socialist values and ideals. We are convinced that this great, difficult, scrupulous work can be carried out by the collective of KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, which has many truly sharp pens and employees able to think profoundly and in a modern way.

The great Kazakh Soviet writer Sabit Mukanov, who worked for KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA for many years, once said that it was at the newspaper that he learned to use Lenin's weapon: the passionate word of a party journalist. This is what I want to wish today to the young reporters at the newspaper who have taken the ideas of perestroika to heart and are trying to assert them on the pages of the newspaper.

I want to address very warm words to the veterans of KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, its oldest employees, to all those who walked with it a hard but joyous road and did so much to bolster its authority among the masses. We also address our thanks to former editors of the newspaper. One does not envy their hard work and heavy responsibility for every word printed in the newspaper. Nevertheless, I think that they will always look back at the time they spent at the newspaper as the most exciting and happy one. We are also grateful to the employees of the publishing house and to the printers who, along with the journalists, add their contribution to the newspaper.

The Kazakh CP Central Committee is certain that the editors of KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA will carry on the glorious traditions of Kazakh journalism and will continue to be reliable assistants of the republic party organization in the cause of spreading perestroika, becoming the catalyst for many deeds and adding their contribution to the task of preparing and holding the 28th CPSU Congress and the 17th Kazakh CP Congress.

On behalf of the Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro, I am extending heartfelt congratulations to the collective of the newspaper, its writers and hundreds of thousands of KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA readers on the occasion of its 70th anniversary. I wish you new creative highs.

Editors Sound off on Leningrad Journal Controversy

90UN0934A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 6, 7 Feb 90 p 7

[Article by I. Fonyakov, comments by Moscow journal editors: "Around the Journal LENINGRAD"]

[Text] Recently, the Leningrad CPSU obkom buro passed a resolution on the status of the journal LENINGRAD that is being reestablished. The Leningrad oblast and city soviet of people's deputies were named its publishers, and the initiative of the RSFSR writers' union to publish a literary and artistic journal LADOGA, the organ of the Leningrad Oblast, Novgorod, Kalinin and Pskov writers' organizations, was supported. The secretariat of the RSFSR writers' union board will review the request of the Leningrad writers' organization to make the journal NEVA its exclusive organ. Currently this journal is shared by the RSFSR writers' union and the Leningrad writers' organization.

Today we publish a report by our correspondent on the open party meeting of Leningrad writers and comments by editors of Moscow large journals on the existing situation.

Repeat Performance?

"I am one of the few people in this hall who remembers that August day in 1946, Zhdanov's speech in Smolny and the first impressions after the resolution on the journals ZVEZDA and LENINGRAD," said one of the oldest members of the union, poet and translator V. Admoni, at the open party meeting of Leningrad writers. "It was a tragic and shameful event. What happens today is a repetition. It is a sacrilege. I propose to appeal to the Committee for Constitutional Oversight since the resolution that has been passed is, above all, illegal..." He was referring to the decision of the Leningrad CPSU obkom buro to give the resurrected journal LENINGRAD to the Leningrad oblast and city soviet of people's deputies. In other words, to take it away from writers for a second time. Officially, that decision was based on the fact that the writers' organization is split, and lacks unity in its ranks. Writers who spoke at the meeting mentioned that the decision of the CPSU Central Committee to rescind the 1946 resolution called for the repressed journal to be given back to the Leningrad writers' organization and that the position of the USSR writers' union stated on the pages of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA by V. Karpov, first secretary of its board, was the same: to restore the journal LENINGRAD to Leningrad writers was an act of "historical justice." As to the newly formed Leningrad oblast party organization and for the writers' organizations of Novgorod, Pskov and Kalinin, a new journal was to be created for them, under the tentative title of LADOGA. What happened at the obkom buro meeting, then? The oblast organization got what it had been promised, while the majority of Leningrad writers were deprived of the journal that belonged to them. To be fair, at the last moment the idea emerged to give the Leningrad writers' organization the journal NEVA (probably as a consolation prize). But this journal is published in Leningrad and by Leningraders anyway, only the masthead will be slightly altered. How to explain the obvious preference accorded to one parties in the dispute?

The resolution of the open meeting expressed lack of confidence to the CPSU obkom and gorkom. After a short but stormy debate, the decision was also made to temporarily halt the payment of membership fees to the party, depositing the money instead in a safe or on a special escrow account at the savings bank. Party members among writers supported the demand by some party organizations of the city to call an extraordinary party conference.

Grigoriy Baklanov, ZNAMYA editor in chief:

"Wondrous things are going on in Leningrad.

"Close on the heels of the introduction of coupons and shoppers' cards, which separated Leningrad from other

Russian cities and oblasts where goods get to Leningrad from, a literary and artistic journal in Leningrad itself is being taken away from Leningrad writers. What, the Leningrad city soviet has nothing else to worry about but publishing a journal? Is it such a great manager, anyway? Recall the recent fire at the library of the Academy of Sciences, the accidents at Pushkin's Museum and the public library imeni Saltykov-Shchedrin and a great many other things in the cultural life of the city.

"The decision by the obkom is certainly illegal. In the era of Stalin and Zhdanov, journals used to be shut down, but never before has the party taken a journal away from writers to give it to local authorities, who, incidentally, will soon stand for reelection, a poll in which the head of the Leningrad party organization himself chose not to stand, so as not to tempt fate needlessly.

"I think that this action against the journal and Leningrad writers should be seen as an undelivered speech by Gidasov at the 6th RSFSR writers' union plenum, which he sent afterwards; it should be included in the transcript."

Sergey Zalygin, NOVYY MIR editor in chief, is currently traveling in areas associated with Aleksandr Tvardovskiy in Smolensk Oblast and will provide his views upon returning to Moscow.

Mikhail Alekseyev, MOSKVA editor in chief:

"I think that this was the most reasonable solution for the Leningrad literary crisis. Also, it is always nice to see a third, new journal join the two existing ones. Since the name of the new journal is LADOGA, it will in itself unite four oblast writers' organizations. In short, I find this solution for the complex problem the only reasonable one, given the existing situation. Let those three journals compete, argue and, most importantly, serve their common cause of developing literature."

Sergey Baruzdin, DRUZHBA NARODOV editor in chief:

"The fact that a new journal, LADOGA, was created is wonderful. But I find it difficult to understand the decision on the journal LENINGRAD. We must not err anew while correcting the major error of the Zhdanov era. Anyway, why should the fate of a literary journal be decided by the party obkom and not by the writers' organization? I have sent a cable on this issue to B.V. Gidasov, first secretary of the Leningrad CPSU obkom and gorkom."

Stanislav Kunyayev, NASH SOVREMENNİK editor in chief:

"The decision was truly King Solomon-like: the wolves are fed and the sheep are safe. But I can imagine how difficult it will be to build a new journal from scratch."

Andrey Dementyev, YUNOST editor in chief:

"I do not think it is nice or wise to take LENINGRAD away from Leningrad writers. The journal had its own traditions, which were killed together with the journal by a similar arbitrary decision. Instead of bringing them back, the party obkom curbed the famous journal, for which writers had fought so long and hard. It is nice, of course, that the Leningrad writers' organization will get NEVA and that the new literary and artistic monthly LADOGA will be published as the organ of the writers' organizations of Leningrad Oblast, Novgorod, Kalinin and Pskov.

"But in a very recent past, Leningrad had dozens of journals, and now one especially wishes that the northern capital, the home of hundreds of writers, had a chance to publish its own, thin and revived LENINGRAD. Soviets did not take power in order to fight their fellow citizens with the help of party bodies and to take away their baby."

Anatoliy Ivanov, MOLODAYA GWARDIYA editor in chief:

"The resolution on the status of the reestablished journal LENINGRAD is, in my opinion, nothing but another

clumsy step by party bureaucrats. What does it mean to name the city and oblast soviet of people's deputies the publisher of the journal? It is clear: effectively, it means to transfer the journal to city writers. In my view, it would be better to give LENINGRAD to the oblast writers' organization, which includes writers from Pskov, Novgorod and Kalinin oblasts. Everyone can see that they need a journal. In light of this I support the request of the Leningrad writers' organization board to give them the journal NEVA. Let each organization have its own journal. This would be equitable."

Anatoliy Ananyev, OKTYABR editor in chief:

"Only recently we rejoiced over the fact that LENINGRAD, a journal with so symbolic a title destroyed and throttled by Zhdanov, received a new lease on life. Leningrad writers started that action. It was all the more surprising, therefore, to learn that the Leningrad CPSU obkom took the journal away from the writers and arbitrarily decided to give it to the city and oblast soviet. How was it possible, at a time when we say that everyone should mind his own business, writers should write and soviets solve social and economic problems? As is well known, there are more than enough of unsolved vital problems in Leningrad."

Resolution on Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact Snagged in Commission Meetings

18150126A Tallinn NOORTE HAAL in Estonian
7 Dec 89 p 3

[Article by Anneli Rõigas: "Yesterday in Moscow. Again About the MRP"]

[Text] The regular session of the Moscow MRP [Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact] commission started at 4 o'clock yesterday afternoon at the residence of Aleksandr Yakovlev, the CPSU Central Committee secretary. There are only a few days left to the opening of the second congress of the USSR people's deputies, the agenda of which is to include reviews of the work done by commissions formed during the first congress. As you recall, at the last session, Yakovlev had presented the commission with a so-called new draft of the resolution that came as an unpleasant surprise to a great majority of members. The resolution which had, for all practical purposes, been unanimously approved by the commission last summer, and which we have been explaining thoroughly, is not considered fit by the party hierarchy to be presented at the congress of deputies. (By the way, the segment dealing with the approval of the resolution was left out altogether from the minutes of the said meeting that were distributed to members of the commission.)

Once again, it has become clear, among other things, in the course of close to half a year of work on the commission, that imperialistic thinking cannot be changed with international law and facts of history.

But the state is in ferment, and the congress is approaching. In one way or another, the forthcoming congress will have to report on the work of the MRP commission, no matter how much Moscow would like to suppress the matter. Unfortunately, however, since the bulk of the commission's membership is made up of non-Yakovlevs and non-Falins, there's no assurance that one of the members representing the commission's majority would not, to the great chagrin of Kremlin, push his way to the speaker's platform. Hence the willingness to attempt to reach some kind of agreement, once again.

Yesterday's session didn't end until half past eight in the evening. I asked Edgar Savisaar, deputy chairman of the commission, to comment on the session. EDGAR SAVISAAR said that, as usual, the session started out with new drafts and discussions about why the draft of the resolution approved back in July would not be suitable for the congress. Some members of the commission (Yeremey, for example), who had already signed the document in the summer, now said that there is no need to go back to the old resolution, and that one should start with a so-called clean slate. Some members of the commission went as far as to say that what they had in the summer was only a draft, and not the final position taken by the commission.

[Edgar Savisaar] "A good reply came from deputy Kazannik who said that whoever signs the draft must also know that it is the signature that turns the draft into an official document.

We attempted to show that, compared to last summer, the situation in the Baltics has developed further. The Supreme Soviets of the Baltic republics have given their evaluations of the events of 1940. The political context has become much clearer, while the evolution of the MRP drafts has taken a different direction—they have become more ambiguous.

While, in relation to Czechoslovakia, the Soviet government has developed more openness, and a certain psychological barrier has been overcome, in the Baltic region, the old principles are still being adhered to.

There was a lot of discussion about if the congress would accept whichever one of the drafts submitted by our commission. Whether the congress will or will not acknowledge the truth is not the key issue here. However, our commission cannot recommend an incomplete or non-objective document to the congress, even if it would have a chance of being passed in that format.

Finally, a so-called coordinating commission was formed, once again, that includes the three deputy chairmen of the commission, along with Endel Lippmaa and Marju Lauristin from our camp, but also Arbatov and Landzbergis.

Once again, all materials "sprouted" since July were compared against the text drafted at that time. Some additions were introduced that did not cause the content to change significantly. By the way, references to the section of the final Helsinki document dealing with the inviolability of boundaries were now also omitted.

The partial quote of the Helsinki document was omitted because the document also stated that boundaries **can** be changed in a peaceful manner, based on mutual agreements.

ENDEL LIPPMAA, however, summarized yesterday's session as follows: "The most important thing is that the commission's resolution state:

"The USSR Congress of People's Deputies condemns the entry into the secret supplementary protocol of August 23 and other secret agreements... The congress will declare the secret protocols legally void from the time of their signing."

Ukrainian Organization for Stalin, Hitler Victims

90UN0963A Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA
in Ukrainian 20 Jan 90 p 5

[Interview, published under the heading "At the Readers' Request," with Helios Pavlovych Mykhaylyuk, chairman, Ukrainian SSR Antifascist Resistance Movement Fighters Organization Council, by RADYANSKA UKRAYINA staffer H. Tuhay: "People Are Sick of Talk...."]

[Text] There once appeared in your newspaper a reference to the 'Voice of the Antifascist Movement.' Unfortunately it did not give the address of this organization of antifascist movement fighters. But people who took part in the fight against fascism need to join together, especially in our difficult times, when our most sacred values—the homeland and the sacred filial obligation to defend it against encroachments by our most savage foe, etc—are being subjected to attacks by certain unofficial ["informal"] organizations. Could your newspaper provide more detailed information on this organization?"

V. Spyrtyach, Cherkassy

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We asked Helios Pavlovych Mykhaylyuk, chairman of the Council of the Ukrainian SSR Antifascist Resistance Movement Fighters Organization (of former Hitlerite concentration camp political prisoners), to respond to our reader's question.

[Tuhay] As far as I know, your organization has been in existence almost a year now. Could you tell us, Helios Pavlovych, about its establishment and purpose?

[Mykhaylyuk] I shall not conceal the fact that we broke off from the Memorial Association, to the establishment of which I had personally devoted a great deal of energy and effort, to the detriment of my health. Unfortunately, however, many individuals have joined that organization who themselves have no link whatsoever to the Stalinist concentration camps but who pursue a policy of political demagoguery. All the meetings of Memorial have been unable to overcome the noisy mass meeting stage, where they do not sow seeds of compassion and respect for the memory of those who have perished but instead whip up a psychosis of hatred. In addition, it was advantageous to certain persons for donations for the projects of Memorial to be collected in a chaotic manner, without rigorous oversight. Nobody ever knew how much money had come into the organization's coffers or what it had been spent on. Money was not being spent properly, but was being squandered on yellow-and-blue and other symbolic accoutrements, on junkets to other cities, to mass meetings.... Other than a lot of talk, there is no concern about the former prisoners themselves. Of course this is not the organization's principal function, but in view of the fact that some of its members are elderly persons who suffered not only at the hands of fascism but from Stalinist repression as well, one can certainly understand what kind of work or, more accurately, concern the most unfortunate of these people expect. First and foremost they expect elementary care, daily attention and, where necessary, financial assistance as well. We are accused of pragmatism. Once again, they claim, lofty ideals have been crushed under the wheels of the "sausage trains."

[Tuhay] I do not believe that this stigma of demagoguery applies to everybody. Everyone is well acquainted with the first commandment of political economy, that the best policy is a healthy economy. And to seek to profit on

the sacred, while neglecting people's plight, today constitutes an outright lack of morality. Many fine ideas and words have been declared in this country over the past decades....

[Mykhaylyuk] We also proceeded precisely from this point, for among my colleagues there are persons who suffered from the tyranny of both dictators—Stalin as well as Hitler. I myself tasted the experience of forced labor during those years, in several fascist concentration camps—at Bergen-Belsen, [Dori], and at Buchenwald where, incidentally, in 1942 I joined the underground German Communist Party.

Have these people really not earned the right to live at least their last weeks, months, and years (whichever is one's lot) in a warm and caring environment, with their voice of truth reaching those who come after them? What we heard in Memorial was more a chorus of young men shouting "Shame!", as if on command, in response to every fair and just word spoken by a genuine former prisoner. You know, that shout reminds me of "Heil Hitler!", which is etched forever in my memory.

I believe that anybody who has had the same experiences as I have will agree with me.

So, our function is, first of all, to care for the living and, of course, to spread the truth about captivity and the concentration camps. We are claiming fair compensation for the years we lost in concentration camps and in the GULAG, for in some cases things reach the point of humiliation—people have received a few measly rubles of so-called "compensation." We are demanding that all concentration camp prisoners who took part in the antifascist resistance movement be given the same status as veterans of the Great Patriotic War.

In addition, all former Hitlerite concentration camp inmates who have been rehabilitated from Stalinist prisons should be awarded a decent pension and compensation, as has been done throughout the entire civilized world. In Moscow a decision has been made to renovate Kitay-gorod, the area of October 25th Street and Dzerzhinskiy Square, where a memorial center is to be erected—a Russian Orthodox church, a museum and a Penitence House—in honor of the memory of the victims of repression. The sponsors of this noble project include the trade unions, the All-Union Council of War and Labor Veterans, the Soviet Charity Foundation, the Soviet Peace Foundation, the Russian Orthodox Patriarchate, and other organizations.

Our present task is to create a Ukrainian organization which would encompass everybody who had the misfortune to be an inmate in fascist concentration camps as well as the victims of Stalinist repression, their relatives

and loved ones who wish to take part in the organization's activities. Our address is: Kiev-252127, PO Box 797/7, Mykhaylyuk, H. P.

An initiative group has already been formed, to convene a congress of the Ukrainian organization, and documentation is at the approval stage at the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers.

We are hoping for the assistance of everybody with a sincere, passionate heart!

[Tuhay] Thank you, Helios Pavlovych. I wish you strength and energy for this difficult but needed endeavor.

Ukrainian CP Decree on 'Blank Spots'

90UN1082A Kiev *PRAVDA UKRAINY* in Russian
4 Feb 90 p 1

[Unattributed article under the rubric "In the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee": "Give History's 'Blank Spots' Political Evaluation"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has passed a decree "On the Need for Intensive Study and Objective Evaluation of Certain Pages of the Ukrainian Communist Party's History of the 1930's, 1940's, and Early 1950's," the text of which is presented below.

Complete and truthful elucidation of the Ukrainian Communist Party's history, and objective political evaluation of its historical experience, constitute one of the important developmental paths in intensifying the process of democratization and glasnost. They are a potent factor in revitalizing the CPSU and establishing a Leninist understanding of the party's role in the society's life. Comprehending the lessons of the past has fundamental importance for seeking paths to the future.

On the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee's initiative, a draft of a republic program for developing historical research and improving the study and propagation of Ukrainian SSR history has been worked out and promulgated for widespread discussion. Within its framework, key problems in Ukrainian SSR and Ukrainian Communist Party history are studied on the basis of new approaches. The civil and party rehabilitation of persons groundlessly purged in the 1930's, 1940's, and early 1950's is continued.

Strictly condemning Stalinist-era crimes, and considering it essential to examine thoroughly and give the proper political evaluation to new and previously known facts and documents, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee decrees:

That the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee's Institute of Party History (Comrade F.M. Rudich)—a branch of the CPSU Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism—jointly with scholars of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences (Comrade

B.Ye. Paton), the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Higher Educational Institutions [Minvuz] (Comrade V.D. Parkhomenko), and the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Public Education (Comrade M.V. Fomenko), be tasked with conducting research on the complex of questions concerning the 1932-1933 famine in the Ukraine; the mass purges of the 1930's, 1940's, and early 1950's; the perversions and mistakes in implementing the nationality policy, and in economic and cultural construction, particularly in the Ukrainian SSR's western oblasts; and other problems caused by the personality cult and its consequences.

That conclusions reached as a result of the scholarly analysis, which require principled political evaluations, be submitted to the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee for examination.

Tolerance of Dissident Views Favored Over Marxist Dogmatism

90US0612A Moscow *PRAVDA* in Russian
1 Mar 90 Second Edition p 3

[Article by A. Denisov, professor, USSR people's deputy: "Dogmatism—The Ideology of Stagnation"]

[Text] A communist, as well as any other person, cannot fail to ask himself the question: How is it that the CPSU, having proclaimed (in its vanguard role) a revolutionary restructuring of society, has itself lagged behind this process? An answer can be found by turning attention to a remarkable phenomenon of recent times: Marxism, the "leading scientific world view," is increasingly being used by conservative forces as a bugbear, a scarecrow for perestroika. Do not rush to object, let us have our say...

Tenants of faith lie at the foundations of any religious doctrine. And they should be taken seriously if they reflect imperishable human moral values. Therefore religious doctrines, first of all, make no provision whatsoever for revision of their dogmas, although this does happen from time to time through heresies and reformations. And, secondly, they make no provision for rational justification of their principle dogmas, taking as their basis Tertullian's maxim: "I believe because it is absurd." One thing needs to be said: In the sphere of ultra-conservative morality, a dogmatic approach is entirely justified. So far as it becomes widely accessible not only for intellectuals who possess the ability of rational thought, but also for the very broadest masses of the population.

As distinguished from this, a scientific view of the world—and science in general—cannot appeal to God as the bearer of absolute truth. They perceive their own system of axioms (the analogue of religious dogma) as a collection of relative truths, all of which, although they are also accepted on faith, have a more or less rational interpretation. And most important—are subjected to review (examination), depending upon the success of the practical application of the corresponding science. It is precisely therefore that Karl Marx, in proposing his own

system of axioms, incorporated within it a methodology, based on the materialized dialectic of Hegel, for permanent review of its teachings as a science with regard to any type of development, including also that of Marxist theory itself. However, this made social doctrine so complicated to master and to apply that the party faced the threat of being transformed into a sect of refined intellectuals cut off from the masses.

Moreover, the logic of political struggle demanded propaganda and introduction of Marxism among the broad popular masses with the goal of attracting them to the party's side. And this, unfortunately, could not be lead (and, in the end, did lead) to simplification, to vulgarization of its teaching to such a degree that they began to seem simple and accessible to all. This took place at the expense of what in fact was a rejection of the part of these teachings that is most complicated and difficult to master—of the dialectic—and of its transformation into a religious doctrine. V.I. Lenin in his "Philosophical Notebooks," reaches the conclusion that Marx's "Das Kapital," and especially its first chapter, cannot be fully understood without having thoroughly studied and understood the entire logic of Hegel. Consequently, no Marxist has understood Marx half a century afterwards! And this was written long before the Stalinist dogmatic distortion of Marxism that is presented by retrogrades and dogmatists as "true" Marxism and socialism!

Thus, at the present time, a rejection of primitive prejudices and stereotypes, which have long since compromised themselves, and a turn toward pragmatic, healthy thought within the framework of the socialist ideal, is being retarded by a fear of a deviation from "socialism" and of a return to the "capitalization of our society. At the same time that nobody—and least of all the defenders of socialism" have any sense of where the line runs between these concepts. Moreover, we have already recognized, as universal human values, humanitarian rights and freedoms that only recently were considered bourgeois prejudices. They not only are not contradictory but are even inherently characteristic of socialism, as are also, by the way, all scientific and cultural achievements, despite their "non-socialist" origin.

It is finally time to free ourselves of the primitive identification of the socialist ideal with the rule of state ownership of the tools and means of production and of the idea of man's exploitation of man—with private property. This is particularly important to do right now, when the Supreme Soviet is discussing draft laws on property and on the land. Indeed, the socialist ideal is a society based on social justice in which conditions are created for the all-round flourishing of each individual. And this ideal is oriented toward man, and not toward forms of property which, in the best of cases, hold a position of third-level significance within the hierarchy of socialist values. In fact, humanitarian rights and freedoms are of "bourgeois" origin. A level of well-being, worthy of a free man, is also of "capitalist" origin. And finally, it would appear that social justice is nevertheless unattainable without making use of the deficit labor

market that was created by Stalin's socialism (this, incidentally, is the great service of Stalin!), where an unsatisfied demand for manpower is forcing the entrepreneur to create favorable conditions for the hired worker.

As is evident even when the socialist ideal is given concrete expression on this level, the form of property is not a determining factor. However, even such a model of socialism is unthinkable for dogmatists of both a Stalinist and an anti-Stalinist stripe. Indeed, for the former, it is two-thirds "capitalistic." And for the latter—one-third "Stalinist." Only the dialectic, which teaches the principle of the unity and the mutual penetration of opposites, which proceeds from the appearance of the bases of a subsequent order within the bowels of a preceding one, and which, finally, is governed by the criterion of practice, according to which everything that works for the socialist ideal is socialistic—only it [this dialectic] is capable of combining "incompatibles" and of realizing a socialism that corresponds to real and not to utopian conditions of being.

However, in the question of property forms as well, the dogmatic vulgarizers of Marxism have cunningly tried to confuse everything. They have transformed the struggle against private property into a kind of symbol of faith. And, meanwhile, Karl Marx write that the private ownership by a worker of the means of production is the basis of small-scale production, and small-scale production comprises a necessary condition for the development of social production and of the free individuality of the worker himself. And it, this property, as Marx asserted, is able to flourish in circumstances where the worker is a free private owner of his own conditions of labor, of those which apply to him himself, where the peasant owns the fields which he tills. We will add that only this private property of the worker guarantees an absence of man's exploitation of man, as long as hired or seasonal helpers are not used in it. All other forms of property, including public property, are fraught with exploitation, as is brilliantly demonstrated, incidentally, in our own experience.

In fact, as the owner of the tools and means of production, the state pays a miserly wage to all working people, citing the fact that social funds (education, health care, etc.) are cost free. However, on all levels, the elite that controls these social funds appropriates for itself an disproportionate percentage of these funds under all kinds of favorable special conditions while leaving only crumbs for the other members of society, and this is also exploitation of man by man,

Moreover, the victory within our country of a lumpen ideology, in the form of general levelling, leads to exploitation of the worker by the idler, inasmuch as they receive approximately the same thing but do not produce the same, so that the idler appropriates value that is produced by the worker. Besides this, the widespread illusion that the workers of an enterprise, as collective

shareholders, are also its owners is also without foundation with respect to there being no exploitation, because, there too, the owners of a large number of shares will exploit those who have fewer or no shares at all, and an attempt to equalize the number of shares would again lead to a victory for the idlers. Of course, capitalist private property is also fraught with exploitation. However, it is important to understand that, in this regard, it does not constitute an exception among other forms of property. So, where does the solution lie?

It lies in the socialist policies of the ruling party and of the government that is formed by it, a government that should govern in fact, i.e., should act in accordance with the circumstances, ensuring a deficit on the labor market at the expense of the state budget when there is a need for this, and which should not assume a pose of hurt innocence every time that reality does not fit into the abstract schemes which are being used by it. The measure of exploitation can be governed right up to its practical elimination under any forms of property. But not by means of incantations and infringements, because exploitation is (and this must be realized) a systemic factor of the economy—that price that elements of the system pay for the commercial risk of the creditor and for the privilege of enjoying the system's benefits (specialization, cooperation, security, comfort, and the like), both on the level of the enterprise and on the level of the state, and therefore its thoughtless abolition, which has been transformed into a goal until itself, will unavoidably lead to a collapse of the economy.

As regards limited private ownership of land, which is envisaged by the version of the Law on Land that has been put forward by the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Ecology and Rational Utilization of Natural Resources, then this, in general, is not designed for commercial activity, i.e. in practical terms, it is not a means of production, but serves as the single real guarantee of the citizen's right to inviolability of his residence, inasmuch as only a residence built on land that is personally owned land by a peasant cannot be taken away in an arbitrary fashion at the whim of one or another rural "feudal lord"—of a department, kolkhoz or sovkhoz, or soviet executive committee. At the same time, nobody is forcing the peasant to go out on his own—he can remain within the kolkhoz or sovkhoz or he can become a renter, as he sees fit, while in any case continuing to be the owner of his own home on his own land.

No less odious is the failure to recognize the free market as a factor cementing the state into a single whole in its struggle against the egoism of regional interests. The market, as a systemic factor, has always fulfilled an integrating function in this struggle, for example, against feudal disunity. And in Europe, the "Common Market" lies at the basis of the European home. Whatever the separatists may say now, our Union has survived not only by military compulsion, but to an even greater degree by a compulsory, planned inter-republic market. And it is precisely the breakdown of this market and the

protracted indecision in replacing it with a free market that have now led not only to the prevailing national differentiation within the Union, but also to ideological differentiation along ethnic lines. Therefore, those who confuse a market economy with "capitalization" are objectively leading matters toward disintegration of the country, no matter how much they may plead the opposite, because only a developed market is capable of forging the country into a unified whole on the healthy basis of mutual interests.

Generally, the dialectic of the part and the whole, which has taken on the form of an independent science and systematic method, views consolidation and disintegration as natural processes within a cycle of the self-progression, of the a system's development, when consolidation, connected with the carrying out of public functions (defense, law and order, the infrastructure) and to an ever increasing degree forging together the initiative of the elements, is replaced by disintegration with the goal of the self-development of its elements, after which as new consolidation takes place, now on a new elementary base. Therefore, having exhausted the consolidating possibilities of a compulsory, planned market, the country is entering a stage of regional self-development, which can and should be replaced by an even larger consolidation on a voluntary-market basis, provided that endless ideological barriers are not be raised in the way of this path and if the process of establishing a market is not dragged out for years. Otherwise, the regions may succeed in becoming irreversibly integrated into various outside systems competing among themselves and will be lost to the system that was their source.

It follows from this that it is pointless to attempt to construct some kind of balance of interests between the Union and the republics that is the same for all cases in life, whether it be "strong republics—a strong center" or something opposite, because while the subjects of a market are being formed, strong and sufficiently independent republics are necessary, but for unhindered and effective functioning of an all-union market, it is necessary to have a strong center, to which in this case the republics voluntarily and willingly delegate an appropriate part of their own sovereignty until a need arises for a new qualitative jump in the life of the system.

Although some people ascribe to me special sympathies toward private property, in actuality, I am somewhat more concerned by the tendency toward loss of the predominance of state property, which is no less dangerous for a multi-structure economy than the absence of the private sector, which is the most active in the sphere of science-intensive innovation. Therefore, free market enterprise should not be initiated under our conditions by propagating forgotten cooperative, individual, and private forms, which looks more like an attempt to pay off the demands of life while preserving state property outside the market than a serious attempt to restructure the economy. And not by the path of its mass privatization [razgosudarstvleniye] or by the path of granting

state enterprises, including sovkhozes and kolkhozes, complete commercial independence, while retaining for the ministries only the function of hiring the enterprise manager (director) under a contract for a set period of time. Only unprofitable enterprises can be sold or transferred to their collectives, to cooperatives, and to private individuals under lease or as owned property, and self-management and selection of the director by election are appropriate only in this case. And the unlimited penetration of cooperative and private capital, both Soviet and foreign, into the market should be permitted only after establishment of a system of state enterprise [predprinimatelstvo].

The sources of dogmatic barriers standing in the way of this can be traced back to absolutization of the element of class struggle within socioeconomic processes, to the detriment of the element of forced class cooperation, which was a consequence of a primitive "black-and-white" logic of everyday consciousness according to the principle: "either struggle or cooperation." The dialectic, which is entirely constructed in half-tones,

requires examination of the class struggle and of collaboration in their unity and mutual penetration according to the principle: "both struggle and cooperation," which, of course, is somewhat more difficult to carry out. Indeed, for the dogmatist, there is only a choice of two alternatives, while for the dialectic there is an endless variety of degrees of mutual penetration of opposites that require concrete examination, with mental and emotional strain. Therefore, it is also difficult to become a true communist, because he is obliged constantly and creatively to review the correlation of his own modal ideas to the realities of modern being. A communist consciously rejects pretensions to possession of absolute truth, restricting himself to a relative truth that is constantly being perfected.

What should spring from this is what our ideology is most of all lacking: a patience toward different ideas and respect for people who hold them as partners in the search for truth, i.e. intelligence and democratism which, from the earliest times, have been characteristic of all levels of Russian society but which were eroded during the reign of Stalin's deforming dictatorship and the "plasticene" complacency of the years of stagnation.

Goskomstat's New USSR Environment Statistical Handbook Reviewed

90US0476A Moscow *EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN*
in Russian No 3, Jan 90 p 24

[Book review by A. Valentey of USSR Goskomstat statistical collection: "On the Ecology—In Unvarnished Form"]

[Text] I am certain that this book will become a bibliographic rarity as soon as it gets to the store shelves. I am not talking about a novel of a world-renowned writer, but about the statistical collection "Environmental Protection and Rational Utilization of USSR Natural Resources." The author—USSR Goskomstat. They have finally stopped hiding ecological statistics under various "stamps."

The data presented in the collection worry, terrify, warn, and instill hope. How is it not an enthralling tale?

How can the fate of Baykal and Lake Ladoga not worry us? That is why individual chapters are devoted to them in the collection.

It instills hope that from 1986 to 1988, breathing nevertheless became somewhat easier. Over this period, the discharge of harmful substances from stationary sources was reduced 10 percent, but all the same constituted a full 61.7 million metric tons. Add to these yet another 35.8 million metric tons of harmful substances in the atmosphere—the contribution of automotive transportation—and the picture is not nearly as cheerful as we would want.

From the statistical collection

Volume of waste water discharge into the Lake Baykal basin (in millions of cubic meters)

	1985	1986	1987	1988
Total waste water discharge into water bodies (not including water specially collected)	757	663	261*	252
Including clean to standards (not requiring treatment) and treated to standards	633	597	154	61
Polluted (untreated and insufficiently treated)	124	66	107	191
Of those, untreated	—	—	3	7

*In 1987, the Gusinozersk GRES was converted from a direct-flow to a circulating-flow water supply.

In 1988, the discharge of polluted waste water by the Baykal Pulp and Paper Combine [BTsBK] constituted 77 million cubic meters (40 percent of the total polluted effluents discharged in the region); the Ulan-Ude city

It is also cause for alarm that one out of every five urban dwellers (and this is about 40 million people) is residing in one of the 68 cities in which the level of atmospheric pollution is particularly high.

Data are provided on the population's morbidity level in certain cities, gotten by the USSR Ministry of Health by computer application. There are practically no analogies for such information in other countries.

Of course, the collection also has shortcomings; its compilers do not hide this. Yet something should be said about the chief shortcoming: A printing of 36,700 is too small for the first open ecological collection.

"We understand that, but we can do nothing about it," says V. Uspenskiy, deputy chief of the USSR Goskomstat informational-publication center. "We printed 1,700 in our printing plant, and the other 35,000 were printed at the "Finances and statistics" publishing house. Unfortunately, it is uncompromising, explaining everything as a paper shortage. I note that all the income from the issue remains with the publishing house, but our center, I emphasize, is self-financing, and is getting nothing. Incidentally, the printing of practically any of our collections could, as a minimum, be doubled."

The weekly *EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN* offers to publish USSR Goskomstat data about the ecology on a regular basis.

The next publication of the collection is envisaged in 1991.

The publication of the statistical collection "USSR Forest Resources" is planned for 1990; it will present detailed information on the state of the country's forest resources, their utilization, and preservation.

sewer system, 57 million cubic meters (30 percent); the Selenginsk Pulp and Cardboard Combine, 12 million cubic meters (6 percent), and the Gusinozersk GRES, 6 million cubic meters (3 percent).

In 1988, along with waste waters, approximately 700 metric tons of nitrates were discharged into Baykal; of these, almost 500 metric tons are from the Ulan-Ude sewer system; 13,000 metric tons of chlorides, half of which come from the Baykal Pulp and Paper Combine.

Chairman on Moscow Environmental Committee Program, Difficulties

90US0476A Moscow VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA
in Russian 23 Dec 89 p 2

[Interview with A.I. Kudin, chairman, Moscow City Committee for the Protection of Nature by D. Gay: "We Will Stand Our Ground"; date, place not given]

[Text] The city committee for the protection of nature [Goskompriroda] was created about a year ago. Goskompriroda Chairman A.I. Kudin talks to us about what it has managed to achieve in that time, and what it has not managed to do.

[Correspondent] Aleskandr Ivanovich, a year is a fairly long period of time. Tell us frankly: Are you satisfied with the committee's activity and with your own work?

[Kudin] I took on this work with the full understanding that it would be difficult. The city's ecological potential has practically been exhausted; I clearly understood the unweakened dictate of the ministries and departments, the indecision and inertia of the city services, the failure of many to understand the disaster threatening us. But I did not expect it to turn out to be so difficult. In any event, I had hoped to change the situation for the better.

[Correspondent] And now what, you do not believe in such a possibility? A little short on optimism?

[Kudin] It is not a matter of believing or optimism, but of the realization of the actual ecological picture, and it is extraordinarily alarming.

[Correspondent] All the same, let us analyze the work of Moskompriroda. I write on the topic of the ecology and I note that people are beginning to listen carefully to the committee in Moscow. You are gaining authority...

[Kudin] That is undoubtedly so, but unfortunately, far from everyone is listening, particularly the leaders in Mossoviet responsible for the ecology. As they say, we will take up this material at a later date. But for the time being, a few words about what has been done.

First and foremost, we have managed to create a collective. The majority of my colleagues are people who feel for the cause, patriots of the city, and that is already a great deal. They have begun to bring structural changes to the process of the work: We made 7 departments out of 17. Practice shows that it will be better like that. One such expanded department is directed toward coordinating activity in science and technology, and the development of a strategic line. A different department will be in charge of expert analysis and the economics of natural resources utilization. The economics of natural resources utilization, the

mechanism of which will begin to work starting next year, is not only the introduction of enterprises' and organizations' mandatory payments for land, water, etc. This is not some sort of quitrent, but a system for redistribution of all norms and indices for the benefit of the ecology. A nature protection foundation will also begin forming. The third department also includes an inspection service...

What else has been done? We determined the circle of scientific organizations working for the ecology. There are 75 of them in Moscow. We have begun to look for points of contact with them, and we have already agreed on cooperation with a number of institutions. Our relations with public formations have become closer. We see in them genuine allies. We are in constant contact with the press, radio, and television, and issue EKOLOGICHESKIY BYULLETEN on a regular basis. We have introduced a round-the-clock ecological "ambulance," and quickly get to locations on signals from Muscovites.

Taking stock of battery production in the capital's enterprises was an important step. There are 900 of them. It is a depressing picture: The wastes from batteries are high, and they are almost not subject to purification. Judge for yourself: Every day 3 metric tons of such wastes with heavy metal salts get into Moscow's rivers and bodies of water.

Moscow's foundries were also inventoried. And here you may roll your eyes: Of the 117 production lines, only 32 are included in the corresponding statistical reports, that is, 32 are known. The remainder are working somehow on an illegal basis. What kind of attention to the ecology is this... Incidentally, one-fifth of the castings do not go to meet Moscow's needs. The analysis of major and minor power production plants conducted was no cause for rejoicing.

[Correspondent] You have not yet said a single word about automotive transportation.

[Kudin] Oh, a touchy question. Automotive transportation remains, as ever, the main source of air pollution. Some 800,000 motor vehicles, including over 500,000 private vehicles, discharged 800,000 metric tons of polluting substances into the atmosphere this year. One ton per vehicle! And it is no accident that one-fifth of all of Muscovites' illnesses are related to the state of the environment. It is clear to everyone what this can lead to. After all, about 2.2 million people live in the discomfort zone (the center, eastern, southeastern, and northwestern parts of the city). There are rayons with even more grave comfort indices within this zone.

[Correspondent] What can be done, how can the situation be corrected? Surely it is already impossible to put up with it. [Kudin] The 9th Mossoviet session, which took place this summer, adopted primary measures for the recovery of the ecological situation in the city. A plethora of sensible statutes were written into the decision. But will what has been planned be realized? There is doubt, but personally, I am encouraged by the position of Moscow Mayor V.T. Saykin, who was among the initiators of that extraordinary session. If only the other Mossoviet leaders would treat the urgency of ecological

problems with such understanding... Unfortunately, as ever, our cultural level is low, in the given case, our ecological cultural level. We do not realize the full urgency of the situation with the state of the air, water, and soil. My colleagues and I are terrified not only by the empty shelves and chronic deficit of products and goods. We are terrified by indifference toward and neglect of nature's needs. Every day, every hour we are cutting away the branch on which we sit, hoping for that notorious "off chance."

[Correspondent] I share your pain, your *cri de coeur*. But after all, there exist objective reasons as well. Everything which has been destroyed over decades cannot be corrected in one year.

[Kudin] Oh, "objective reasons"?... How much can be hidden behind them... Let us take automotive transportation, the veritable scourge of Moscow. Foreign vehicles have long been produced with electronic engine control, equipped with systems for neutralizing gaseous emissions. Gasoline-powered engines have clean-burning combustion chambers; exhaust gas recirculation is envisaged for diesel engines. All of this ensures practically clean exhaust. Well, are our ministries, departments, and car plants unaware of this? They are just not paying any attention to it. They are worried by their plan, their bulwark.

Well, let us say that the problem cannot be solved all at once. For the time being there is only talk about creating ecologically clean engines. But why is there no ray of hope in solving the issues which require neither special expenditures nor additional efforts? Snow, for an example. How many times has Mossoviet warned that only clean snow may be thrown into the Moscow River, and only in strictly designated locations. On this score there is a special order number 1627 dated 22 August 1988. And what sort of snow goes into the Moscow River now? Gray, yellow, pink, whatever the snow removers gather on the streets, containing god knows what components.

A brief author's comment on what A.I. Kudin has said. At a party gorkom press conference the day before yesterday, A.S. Matrosov, Mossoviet ispolkom deputy chairman, literally said the following: "More harm is done if the dirty snow stays on the soil than if it is thrown in the Moscow River." The journalists in attendance did not believe their ears. Goskompriroda Deputy Chairman Ye.V. Minayev had to delicately correct the Moscow gorispolkom deputy chairman: the damage from such snow disposal in the river is beyond doubt.

[Correspondent] What concrete steps are planned, and what is already being realized in the defense of the ecology?

[Kudin] The "Ekotekhprom" association has been created under the Glavmoszhilinzh [Main Moscow housing engineering]. It will become responsible for processing urban waste. An association is being created which will produce equipment for cleaning harmful discharges into

the atmosphere. In general, I am convinced that it is necessary to organize a special branch to be in charge of all equipment and mechanisms designated for the ecology.

With the assistance of other services, Moskompriroda will now create overall city monitoring. The joint Soviet-Italian enterprise "Prima" is also participating in this important work.

In the coming weeks we want to shut down one of the shops of the Dorogomilovskiy Chemical Plant. Its presence can no longer be tolerated. Next in line is a photographic plate factory. In total this year we halted the work of 72 sectors and production lines.

Among our impending plans are taking an inventory of all welding production lines and dumps. We want to check the state of minor rivers and Moscow's forest-park resources.

[Correspondent] Aleksandr Ivanovich, let us get back to the beginning of our talk. I get the feeling that for reasons which do not depend upon you, it is not easy for you to do your work. Or is that just how it struck me?

[Kudin] You are not mistaken. We have begun to prevent certain people from living in peace. Hence the growing pressure on us, the attempts to "twist our arms."

We conducted an examination of the General Plan for Moscow's development, and made a fair number of substantive comments. This was not to everyone's taste. An examination was conducted in the new residential rayons Butovo, Brateyevo, Solntsevo, Novo-Kosino, Zhulebino, and the Northern Industrial Zone. We have many comments. The majority of them are related to the project plans and construction caused by the previous outmoded approaches to resolving city construction problems. These approaches practically did not take ecological aspects into consideration.

What is to be done now? Ways out should be sought without delay, and they do exist. Why do I speak so confidently? In the final analysis, meetings with the Mossoviet ispolkom leaders, Glavmosarkhitektura [Main Moscow Architecture], and stormy debates impell the specialists to find sensible solutions to the urgent problem without harming the ecology.

The question arises: Is it really worth it to Moskompriroda? Having "thrown down the gauntlet" to various city services, we risk winding up alone, and waging a hopeless, dead-end fight. We are defenseless in the social and legal sense. There is still no statute on our committee, just as there is no law on protecting nature, as there is no State Program for the ecology. These are links of the same chain.

We want to give Mossoviet an objective, honest ecological picture and see its concern in correcting the situation. Until now, it has not always shown such concern.

We are not groundless idealists; we understand full well and share the burdens of Mossoviet. Let us look the truth

straight in the eye—enormous concerns have now fallen to Mossoviet. The city has been neglected, and it cannot continue that way. Thus it is all the more impermissible to brush aside ecological problems, for they are like delayed-action mines: They will explode sooner or later.

In any case, for myself I have decided that I will stand my ground, however it turns out for me.

Chairman on Goals of New Committee to Save Sea of Azov

90US0599A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
17 Jan 90 p 4

[Interview with Ye.N. Bal, chairman of the Inter-Republic Committee to Save the Sea of Azov, by correspondent G. Alekseyenko: "A Sea of Fears and Hopes"]

[Text] **An inter-republic committee to save the Sea of Azov has been created in Mariupol. We are talking with the chairman of this committee, head of the Mariupol DOSAAF school, Ye. N. Bal.**

[Alekseyenko] Yevgeniy Nikolayevich, how did the committee begin its work?

[Bal] We sent an Appeal, which the citizens of the cities of the Azov Sea coastal region had adopted at meetings, to the second USSR Congress of People's Deputies. The central demand was to have the problems of the Sea of Azov included in the draft of the long-term state environmental protection program and to have it declared an ecological disaster zone.

Of course, you don't get too far by demands alone. One must develop and propose specific integrated recommendations on saving the sea to the government. Meanwhile no unified concept of the regeneration of the Azov exists, since there is no total picture of the sea's ill health. The analyses of the Azov Fishing Industry Scientific Research Institute indicate the presence of copper, lead, mercury and cadmium in the bottom sediments of the sea and of organochlorine pesticides, DDT metabolites and saturna [not further identified] in specimens from fish organisms.

What is the scale of the contamination for the basin as a whole? Let's take a look at the State Water Cadastre, published by the State Committee for Hydrometeorology. In the columns which ought to contain information on the presence of heavy metal salts in the sea there are either lines signifying omissions or data on humidity or water temperature. It may be that the missing indicators are in other publications of the State Committee. But the trouble is precisely that a complete representation of the "state of health" of the sea cannot be put together on the basis of uncoordinated ecological information. Not a single department issues it in the necessary volume. So we will take it upon ourselves to fill out the blank spots on the map of the contamination of the Azov Sea. This work is already underway. Materials gathered along the

Azov coast by an ecological expedition which the Mariupol people undertook in September 1989 are now being processed. Preparations are underway for two more expeditions planned for next summer. Here journalists, in particular PRAVDA UKRAINY, could be of great help to us.

[Alekseyenko] You mean assistance in the collection of funds for the outfitting and financing of an expedition?

[Bal] That first of all.

[Alekseyenko] How do you like the idea of holding a "round table" in the editorial office with deputies, your committee and cooperative members as participants. The subject to be the introduction of tax abatements for cooperatives which would regularly allocate funds to save the Sea of Azov.

[Bal] If such a conversation takes place I think that the participants will be able to find a common language. I await the invitations. My counter-proposal is to organize a joint expedition of the committee and the editorial office which can be both the general sponsor and the chronicler of the cruise.

By popularizing the work of the committee the paper would help to consolidate its prestige. We need that for a positive resolution of the question of the approval of our Charter by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Having obtained the rights of a juridical person the committee will open its own account in Zhilsotsbank (USSR Housing and Social Bank).

And then as an independent khozraschet unit we will be able to carry on commercial activity. I think that the T-shirts and badges with Azov Sea ecological symbols which we intend to produce will be in demand both on the internal market and abroad. We would be able to open an account in Vneshekonombank (Bank for Foreign Economic Activity). If that happens, I hope that natives of our region living abroad who are well-off will also begin to add to it.

Finally, the committee is in need of journalistic protection from bureaucrats. The Donetsk oblast epidemiological station has been holding up for three months a study of samples of Azov Sea bottom sediments that we selected as far back as the time of the September expedition. Is this not bureaucratic red tape!?

[Alekseyenko] What you want to say is that since the committee doesn't have its own publication yet, PRAVDA UKRAINY could become the tribune of glasnost for the Azov ecological movement?

[Bal] The more information about the work of the committee there is in the press, the more there are of those wishing to help the cause for which it was created. We are already getting letters that help to determine the regions of the basin which are on the verge of ecological catastrophe.

Thus, an alarm from Berdyansk is being monitored. Its authors, I. Koldoba, V. Brezitskiy and others have reported that in the region of the dacha settlement, nearly washed away by the sewage from a sewer that is full of holes, another one is being built. Its waste threatens to turn a section of sea coast into a stinking swamp.

A letter from Yeysk concerning the deadly for the sea decision of the local authorities to build a cement plant two kilometers from the coast does not give one peace. We are warning such good-for-nothing bosses that the committee will appear in the courts and arbitration proceedings as a plaintiff against any enterprises, departments or elective bodies that try to turn our sea into a mixing tank for harmful wastes. The Berdyansk Experimental Petrochemical Plant is using it precisely in this capacity. The committee is trying to get the fatty acids shop of this enterprise, a very dangerous source of the sea's pollution, closed.

In order to competently fight against the destroyers of the Azov, we are creating a data bank on international requirements for the erection of industrial projects near the sea. Contacts with "Greenpeace" are being set up for this purpose.

The committee receives many interesting proposals concerning collaboration. The Kiev Botany Institute has put forward the idea of creating a device for the remote-control analysis of water quality using lasers. The collective of the Special Design-Technological Bureau "Turbulentnost" (Turbulence) of Donetsk State University has proposed the joint development of a self-contained buoy which records the sea's contamination. Ecologists from the young people's scientific and technical centers come to us with daring projects. We invite the collaboration of all who have ideas on how to save the Sea of Azov.

Ecology Committee Chairman Salykov Interviewed on Current Issues

*90US0678A Moscow SOYUZ in Russian
No 9, 26 Feb-4 Mar 90 pp 12-13*

[Interview with Kakimbek Salykovich Salykov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Ecology and the Rational Use of Natural Resources, by Lev Aleynik: "Ecology—Pain and Hope"]

[Text] [Aleynik] Kakimbek Salykovich, at the end of last year the USSR Supreme Soviet passed a resolution "On Urgent Measures for the Ecological Recovery of the Country," which frankly admitted that the situation was disturbing and even critical in some places and listed the disaster zones and the regions on the verge of ecological crisis. Finally, it contained the categorical admission that one-sixth of the population of the USSR lives in a hundred cities where the maximum permissible concentration of harmful substances in the air is exceeded 10 times over or more. In this document, once again—for at

least the hundredth time in memory!—"specific measures have been elaborated and instructions have been issued to ministries and departments"—please excuse this use of formal and awkward "bureaucratese." Nevertheless, after working directly with these problems as a journalist for many years, I think I can see something behind the statements in the resolution, something signalling the impending modification of all of the cumbersome governmental machinery in our sixth of the world's dry land for the genuine reorientation of economic management.

[Salykov] You are right. For too long, ecology was seen as something distinctly separate from the economy. It is much more important, however, to acknowledge their interaction and interdependence and to take intelligent action by directing our efforts at the survival of our own people and of all mankind. People realized long ago that only the collective resolution of ecological problems and the politicizing of these problems can enrich the global humanism which is in such disastrously short supply on our remarkable planet. This is precisely what M.S. Gorbachev was talking about in Moscow when he addressed the Global Forum on Environmental Protection and Development for Survival, saying that the vital importance of ecological problems was not acknowledged on the level of policy in the Soviet Union until just recently, that the dimensions of the country and its wealth encouraged our ecological carelessness, and that even when pollution began to acquire dangerous proportions in some parts of the country, this was not fully appreciated right away.

[Aleynik] A lengthy report on the national ecological situation was recently published in our country—the first report in the history of the Soviet State containing an impartial analysis of our problems and dangers. As the saying goes, better late than never.... Still, it took a criminally—I can use this word without fear—long time to publish the facts about, for example, the after-effects of the Chernobyl disaster, which were not divulged in full until just recently. Meanwhile, a genuine people's war for complete ecological glasnost had broken out in the country. What is the committee's position on these matters?

[Salykov] We defend the right of each nationality and each individual to be fully informed of all ecological problems. Furthermore, we will adhere to the principled line of publishing complete sets of unbiased statistics in the popular news media as well as in specialized publications. We people's deputies of the USSR in the Supreme Soviet of our country, because of our activity on the committee, do not dissociate ourselves at all from the broad public movement in defense of nature, the movement which has become so powerful. Many of us are working closely with numerous ecological organizations in a number of republics and regions and are also establishing international contacts with the "Greens." Only the complete truth about what we have done and are still doing to nature and only collective efforts to restore what we have ruined will save us.

[Aleynik] For many decades the dogmatic members of the previous leadership regarded ecological concerns as a burden, invested miserly sums in environmental protection, and overlooked the disastrous state of affairs in this sphere. As we know, the "time of missed opportunities" caused the dramatic deterioration of the state of the ecology because the uncontrolled mechanism of the wasteful use of natural resources was operating at full speed: Few people cared about the depletion of non-renewable natural resources because the rapacious mentality of slogans calling for bigger and better production prevailed. Incidentally, why am I euphorically relating all of this in the past tense? After all, you know better than anyone else that these practices still persist.

[Salykov] At this time I have too little evidence to the contrary. Regrettably, the mere appeal to all of us to "make everything greener" is certainly not enough. There were mistakes in the development and distribution of productive forces in line with customary procedures—"Apres moi, le deluge." The low level of the frequently antediluvian technology of production in more than one sphere of "national mismanagement" led to calamitous and sweeping violations of natural systems. I never tire of repeating that ecological disasters have not led to any decisive advances in investment policy and in the commercial and technological structure of today's economy. In other words, the necessary attention is still not being paid to the incorporation of ecologically clean, waste-free technologies and production processes on the national scale. It literally takes a battle, following dramatic demonstrations by the people who live near production units barbarously injuring all forms of life in the district, to stop the construction of disastrously harmful and repugnant enterprises or to close them down or re-specialize them: the Crimean nuclear power plant, the Volga-Chogray canal, the protein and vitamin concentrate plants....

[Aleynik] Are there many such examples? Not many. The thoughtless closure of the most necessary "dirty" plants, however, is also absolutely unacceptable: Are emotions and clean air enough to sustain life? This is why your committee's program for the ecological recovery of the country and the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution with which we began this discussion are probably the first impartial and objective forecasts to be issued on such a high official level. They also specify strict deadlines for the first steps to keep all of us from falling to the bottom of the abyss of poverty and becoming a raw material base for the developed countries. I realize that everything is important, but to what do you assign priority?

[Salykov] There is good reason that the document specifies the most urgent measures. There is a growing awareness in the upper echelons of government of how far we have gone in the careless "subjugation of nature." Priority has been assigned to resolute steps to emerge from the ecological crisis—the urgent aid to disaster zones now included in state plans for the socioeconomic development of the country and of union and autonomous republics in the coming 5 years. These priorities

are also being stipulated in the plans which are being drafted today for submission to the USSR Supreme Soviet and which will be published widely prior to this for nationwide discussion in the form of a draft long-range state program of environmental protection and the rational use of the natural resources of the USSR in the next five-year plan and up to 2005. In particular, the very first point stipulates the improvement of the state of the environment in cities and populated points where the level of air pollution is several times in excess of the maximum permissible concentration to meet standard requirements. Besides this, questions connected with the population of safety zones around ecologically dangerous enterprises and production units are to be investigated, and the quality of drinking water and food is to be improved in 1991-1995 to meet public health standards.

We are simply obligated to do everything we can to avert new tragedies. To this end, starting this year the financing of all projects and programs will depend on a positive evaluation by a state board of ecological inspectors.

[Aleynik] Of course it will have to be independent?

[Salykov] Furthermore, state ecological appraisals of previously approved programs of agricultural reclamation and chemicalization, the development of nuclear power engineering and the chemical and microbiological industries, and others will be required this year and next year. During the same 2 years there will be ecological inspections of all existing enterprises and ecologically dangerous facilities, as well as of specific territories, and the results of these will then serve as the basis for specific plans for ecological recovery. We will fight for changes in investment policy at the session and at the congress: We have had enough of the madness of gigantomania!

[Aleynik] As we have seen so many times, however, setting good guidelines and drawing up excellent plans are not enough. What will guarantee the efficacy of the plans? Is the machinery of the new ecological resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet not likely to malfunction?

[Salykov] I think that the hopes for the precise operation of economic levers are quite valid. After all, we hope to change the economy of the use of natural resources, and all steps in this direction are to be closely coordinated with the radical economic reform in the country: the new idea of economic development and the new principles of the expansion—or, more precisely, the acquisition—of rights by union and autonomous republics and all economic entities. A network of regional ecological prosecuting attorneys, directly under the jurisdiction of the USSR procurator general, is being established. I have said several times that it is not enough for us to simply emerge from the dead zone of lawlessness. We must also envisage effective ecological-economic levers in environmental protection laws. Violations of the law, the pollution of the environment and the irrational use of natural

resources, must become economically ruinous and morally unacceptable. Here the interaction and interdependence of ecology and the economy are indissoluble: A statute on economic incentives for various organizations for specific contributions to the restoration of the natural habitat of animals and the ecological recovery of our cities and rural communities, our air and water, and our land is to be drawn up in the first quarter of this year.... Enterprises, associations, and organizations will have to pay a special tax for using ecologically dangerous technologies and for harmful emissions and sewage. Most of these funds will be used for conservation purposes.

[Aleynik] I hope the tax will be harsh enough to bankrupt the good-for-nothing "managers" who are ruthlessly and recklessly destroying the common property of present and future generations. It is good that you want to hold officials responsible for the deliberate concealment or distortion of information about accidents with ecological after-effects and about the state of public health and environmental pollution. This will finally be part of the legislative concept of "ecological crimes," with the possibility of the criminal prosecution of the guilty parties and—it goes without saying!—their personal responsibility for damages. But after all, many of our citizens have so little awareness of what they are doing to nature that their excuses are frequently accepted without any repercussions. What has to be done?

[Salykov] Our committee advocates the affirmation of the priority of common human values, the inclusion of ecological awareness in education and upbringing, starting from childhood, and the cultivation of a new and modern attitude toward nature. Of course, we are not operating in a vacuum; events of recent years have given many people an awareness of what we have and of how backward we are in this sphere. We are not hopelessly backward, however, because we can still correct the situation by working with the world community, especially now that our country is party to 55 international ecological programs. We legislators, however, intend to raise the level of this participation by several orders of magnitude, so to speak. The main thing is that we have new ideas and a new view of consumption and social concerns: We must not allow anyone to injure the health of people and their descendants and of all forms of life, and we must be guided by the standards of global morality. This will be guaranteed by law and by the law-governed state we are establishing at this time. Democratic power will soon be in the hands of the soviets elected by the people. They will decide where production units should be located and how natural resources can be used intelligently.

[Aleynik] Now you have steered our dialogue to the discussion of this major issue. We are still guilty of the disgraceful treatment of the wealth with which nature has endowed us. We have had a particularly disastrous effect on non-renewable resources. As a former mining engineer, you must know of outrageous contradictions in the use of mineral resources. Do you remember the

man-made mountains in Soligorsk, Solikamsk, Nevinno-myssk, and dozens of other cities? And what about the lunar landscapes of the "world's biggest" coal and ore pits? Do you remember the absolute lack of contact between the departments of metallurgy, construction materials, and the chemical industry? In many countries, however, crude minerals have been used by almost 100 percent, so to speak, for a long time. They are put to work for the derivation of many chemical elements, plastic, and a variety of construction materials. In view of the fact that the committee you head, by virtue of its name, is supposed to be just as concerned about the rational use of natural resources as about ecology, I feel completely justified in asking you directly what you legislators are doing in this sphere?

[Salykov] A sound ecological policy and the rational use of natural resources are the two wings of our country's economic and social life, and both are equally responsible for pulling it out of the morass of stagnation. We are simply obligated to make the move to an ecologically intelligent economy. We made the decision to form a mining committee to serve as the chief adviser to the administration and the Supreme Soviet on the extraction, mining, and consumption of underground and surface resources. Finally, we must decide the structure of the system for the state management of resource use. The committee has asked the USSR State Committee for the Protection of the Environment for its thoughts on the matter.... At this time, more than 15 billion tons of rock are extracted and processed in the USSR each year, we produce 90 percent of our industrial product from mineral resources, we spend two-fifths of all capital investments in industry on the development of this sphere, and we are using almost one-third of all production assets and one-fifth of the labor force in the operation of the crude mineral resource complex. In short, the protracted underestimation of the importance of the efficient and comprehensive use of crude resources gave rise to several serious social and economic problems that must be solved as quickly as possible. This is also one of the main ways in which the country can overcome its ecological difficulties. Here is what our committee thinks: Surmounting the departmental approach to the use of national resources will necessitate radical changes. We legislators regard this as our main objective.

[Aleynik] At this time the exploitation of resources by mining enterprises, and also by others, follows approximately this pattern: Choose the most accessible sites, even if grass will never grow there again....

[Salykov] The situation will probably be complicated even more by the transfer to regional cost accounting in this sphere of the economy. The expansion of the rights of enterprises to exploit deposits which are public property might be simply disastrous for the entire society. The departmental approach to the use of raw materials will now be combined with a regional approach, which will put regional interests above statewide concerns. This is why the mining committee of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology must be the main

adviser to the government. After a thorough investigation of the state of affairs in the most highly developed countries, we concluded that radical improvement in the use of mineral resources will probably necessitate a single set of government regulations covering their extraction on a goal-oriented scientific-technical, ecological, economic, and legal basis. It will be particularly important to coordinate all of this with social issues and assign priority to humanitarian considerations: above all, the indisputable value of each human life.

[Aleynik] I think it will take more than economic changes to finally reach the hallowed threshold of the era of completely waste-free industry and to stop depleting non-renewable resources. It will take a humanitarian reversal, perhaps the very one our brilliant countryman Vladimir Ivanovich Vernadskiy spoke of in his work on the noosphere.

[Salykov] The contribution of our country, with its vast territory and industrial potential, to the cause of the global survival of mankind will continue to grow. After all, emissions of harmful substances, sewage, and the pollution of the land, if they continue at the present rate, could cause negative, and already irreversible, changes in the global ecological situation in the near future. The growing movement in defense of our common European home and our country's 30 or so joint ecological programs with the Americans give us hope.

[Aleynik] Are we finally ready to make use of the conservation experience of those who are ahead of us on this road? Is this the time for specific action?

[Salykov] By 1995 we have to supply the population of the entire country with clean drinking water. It is time to use every channel to establish contact with highly developed countries so that we can borrow their technology for the purification of waste and sewage and the harmful emissions of production facilities and motor vehicles and increase the safety of nuclear power plants by several factors. There is no end of work to be done! The problems caused by the Chernobyl disaster must be solved in a separate program. We have requested a review of the national power engineering program from the standpoint of the possibility of using alternative sources of energy on a broader scale: wind, solar, tidal, etc.

[Aleynik] At this time, we are still lamenting the changes for the worse in the face of the earth and the disappearance of rare birds, animals, plants, and fish, but in my journalistic travels to Komsomol and shock "construction projects of the century," I saw how they drove people away from their natural habitat....

[Salykov] The Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee recently held a seminar on ethnic issues. I headed the section on "Ecology and Nationality" there and realized that the issues raised by members of small ethnic groups with regard to their survival must be resolved without delay. Otherwise, we will simply be too late and will have to live with the tragedy of the

disappearance of whole ethnic groups.... Our committee inserted a special point in the resolution on urgent measures for the ecological recovery of the country: The small native ethnic groups of the North, Siberia, and the Far East are to be guaranteed the territories of traditional resource use, not subject to industrial development, this year. Of course, this is only on paper at this time, but I think it will soon become the deciding factor in the survival of many ethnic communities.

[Aleynik] Am I correct in assuming that the qualitative perestroika of ethnic policy will primarily entail the disentanglement of the almost hopelessly tangled knots of socioeconomic and ecological conflicts caused by the authoritarian system of administration, so that the interests of the different nationalities inhabiting our republics can finally be upheld?

[Salykov] It is time for everyone to realize that the individual and the ethnic group are integral parts of all nature and, for this reason, cannot be isolated from nature or accept the biases of the technological world created by the family of nationalities. Many proposals have been submitted with regard to the creation of national-ecological councils in the republics and an ecological council of the USSR, the establishment of the "Green Cross" (by analogy with the Red Cross rescue and relief organization), and the publication of an ecological atlas of the country and a unionwide ecological weekly. We must make broader use of the possibilities of UNEP—the United Nations Environmental Program. We need broader dialogue with all ecological movements and associations in the country and the world and absolute honesty in our communications with the people of our native land who are now on the dangerous verge of ecological crisis. We can only surmount our common problems through common effort.

Vorontsov on Duties, Goals as Goskompriroda Chairman

90US0581A Moscow PRAVITELSTVENNYY
VESTNIK in Russian No 7, Feb 90 o 12

[Article by Yu Michurin: "'Is a Minister's Portfolio Light?'"]

[Text] **A half-year ago a scientist became a member of the government. A few days ago our correspondent sat down next to him, in order find an answer to the question that is the title of this article.**

Not too long ago Nikolay Nikolayevich Vorontsov was known, probably, only among scientists. But very unexpectedly for many people, the USSR Supreme Soviet confirmed him as chairman of USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection [Goskompriroda]. People wondered, "How will a man of science undertake apparatus work?"

A half-year has passed. The parliamentary passions that were evoked by the formation of the government have abated. But the interest in Vorontsov has not lessened.

He is invited to appear on television, magazines ask him to write articles, and it is a rare week when he does not have a meeting with journalists. The chairman's deputies assert that he not refused a single meeting with the press, at which time he does not simply answer the questions, but also conducts a lively conversation, making no attempt to conceal any departmental "secrets."

Perhaps that is what a minister is supposed to be like: a person who speaks openly about our common woes, who has a thorough knowledge about the problems, who shocks everyone with the unpleasant information about the state of the environment. But at the same time he should also be a very proper individual, who speaks to his subordinates only in the formal mode of speaking, rather than using the familiar mode as certain workers in the apparatus do.

"No, I do not think that the word 'apparatchik' is a derogatory one," Nikolay Nikolayevich once stated in this regard. "For more than seven years I myself worked in the apparatus: I was the academic secretary of the Siberian Branch of USSR Academy of Sciences for the biological sciences and simultaneously I headed a laboratory at the Institute of Cytology and Genetics, SO [Siberian Branch], USSR Academy of Sciences. From my own experience I know the administrative work style. As everyone knows, not a single state system could do without apparatchiks. What kind of workers are needed in the apparatus is another matter. Everything depends upon their attitude toward the job, and their degree of competency. Our State Committee currently does not have enough specialists: geologists, economists, zoologists, biologists, power engineers... It is necessary, in addition, to ask many leading scientists to cooperate with us. Then it will be possible to resolve the tasks that have been assigned to us."

There is no need to doubt that, as a scientist, he has an excellent awareness of what must be done. But how and with whom is another matter. Because even those who today unconditionally support the policy of the committee's new leader are already beginning to display impatience: when will the changes begin?

Vorontsov cannot be called a conservative, but he does not comprehend the words "revolutionary perestroika," being completely aware that one cannot "switch gears" immediately—if you do that, you might knock the engine out of commission. It is probably for that reason he is not hurrying to make any fundamental change in anything in the committee, although he does have plans in that regard.

True, a small amount of time has been allowed for vacillating. The confidence credit might be exhausted soon. I think that Vorontsov does not like very to be in the position of taking too long to make his next move, although, with every passing day, he certainly becomes increasingly aware of how heavy a committee chairman's portfolio is. Because the creation of Goskompriroda, in his opinion, was at least 30 years late. And there is

nothing worse than waiting and trying to catch up. In addition, for a long time it had been impossible to find anyone who wanted to head our environmental protection department. So, as he jokingly remarked, he did not have any other way out than to occupy this "ecological niche" himself.

Incidentally, certain people see in his transfer a desire to become one of the "nomenklatura." But he frankly says that certain of the privileges that he has received, and in particular a personal car, are to a certain degree a burden. Nikolay Nikolayevich feels that he is an inveterate driver, although it is true that he does not know much about the equipment itself. But for a long time his rather old Zhigulenok [Zhiguli car] has been laid up. "The person who probably suffers most from this is my wife," he says laughingly. "She doesn't have private transportation any more."

Incidentally, Yelena Alekseyevna has taken an understanding attitude toward his new work. And their youngest daughter, 17-year-old Dasha, stated her opinion flatly, "Dad, you've gone off your rocker!" One can understand her: when her father was engaged in science, he would often work until late at night and would go on expeditions, but now she will see him even less frequently. It is easier to explain the situation to his oldest daughter, Masha. She is also a biologist, and she is completely aware of what difficulties await her father in the field of environmental protection.

Just as it is difficult for his family members to become accustomed to his new work, he himself has had to become newly accustomed to many things. He has a completely crammed working day that is rigidly planned. His business meetings are scheduled not only at 1200 hours, but also at 2000 hours. And in addition he has to deal with the endless telephone calls dealing with every conceivable subject, as well as papers, papers, and more papers, stacks of which are on his desk.

The work mode that he has chosen for himself today cannot be called normal. For the time being, he cannot allow himself to attempt once again to quit smoking, and he obviously drinks too much coffee. Sometimes he does not eat a proper lunch. All these are details, that are known only to small circle of people around him. And it would really not be worthwhile to even mention this, if we did not hear repeatedly, "Well, what is Vorontsov doing with his time, anyway? He hasn't been able yet to have a proper meeting with the committee collective!" I can add that it is not only the apparatus, but also his deputies who sometimes do not see him for a week at a time. Even they have been unable to catch hold of him on the job.

Yes, it takes more than a single day for scientists to become ministers. So he has assumed for himself a rhythm that allows him to become informed about a situation as quickly as possible, to be able to analyze everything himself. Incidentally, he takes a sober look at the future: within the next few years the only thing that

he can realistically achieve is to reduce the ecological tension, and achieve a stability in the state of the environment. But it will have to be improved slowly. In addition, we will also have to overcome our ecological ignorance. It will be necessary for Vorontsov to speak everywhere about cultivating the proper attitude toward the environment—not only in the upper echelons of power, but also in meetings with his constituents. Because Nikolay Nikolayevich, having handed over one deputy mandate, joined the struggle to get another one, running as a candidate for election as an RSFSR people deputy. His election platform remains unchanged and is based on the position that the stability of the biological world is guaranteed only by the maximum variety of species.

His experience in the political struggle, without a doubt, ought to help him also in organizing the work of his apparatus. True, what is needed here is another kind of experience—apparatus experience. Incidentally, the lack of such is an advantage that enables him to carry out an independent policy. He has already succeeded in finding a common language with certain ministers, but still has to do that with others. Of course, it is not yet an easy matter to combat departmental selfishness. For example, the people at USSR Ministry of Metallurgy have not yet become deeply concerned about protecting the environment.

"It's no easy job to change the departmental way of thinking," he thinks aloud. "It is necessary to achieve a situation in which it becomes advantageous for the ministries to protect the environment. Nothing can be done without economic levers."

The Goskompriroda chairman has already succeeded in doing a few things in this direction. But there have also been the first failures. The beginning of his activities coincided with the rejection by the Committee on Ecology and the Efficient Use of Natural Resources, USSR Supreme Soviet, of the long-term state ecological program on which the representatives of various departments had been working. Vorontsov decided to involve in the work on the new draft exclusively scientific forces. After a few months of intensive work, a new program concept was prepared. At various administrative levels it was accepted ambiguously. The scientific computations were not apprehended. People had become more accustomed to seeing specific figures and precise plans. It was necessary at the final stage for the apparatus to be brought in.

Nevertheless, at heart Vorontsov always remains a scientist. And he cherishes like a breath of fresh air those minutes when he can find time to go back to his beloved Institute of the Biology of Development imeni Koltsov, where he has continued to retain a place for himself as a chief scientific associate. Recently a telegram arrived at Goskompriroda. It read, "Soviet scientist, professor, doctor of biological sciences, chairman of USSR Goskompriroda N. N. Vorontsov has been awarded by the Max Planck Society the Bruno-H. Schubert Prize (Federal

German Republic) for his outstanding achievements in the field of the protection of the environment and nature."

Could it be that it is easier for an outsider to see how Vorontsov the scientist and Vorontsov the minister is working?

Uzbek Minvodkhoz Minister on Water Resource Development, Ecology

*90US0581B Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
28 Jan 90 p 2*

[Interview with R. A. Giniyatullin, Minister of Land Reclamation and Water Management, by UzTAG correspondent A. Bezverkhov: "Topical Interview: Minvodkhoz: Not an Enemy, But an Assistant"]

[Text] The Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Management [Minvodkhoz] has been restored in Uzbekistan. UzTAG correspondent A. Bezverkhov discusses its tasks, strategy, and tactics with Minister R. A. Giniyatullin.

[A. Bezverkhov] Rim Abdulovich, would you please allow me, first of all, to introduce you to our readers. Because frequently we do not know anything about the administrators of our republic's ministries and departments except their names.

[R. Giniyatullin] I would be pleased to do so. I am 47 years old. By education I am a hydraulic engineer. Since 1965 I have worked in the republic's water management system. Practically all my conscious work has been inseparable from that collective, where I was nurtured to the position of deputy minister. In 1986 I was appointed deputy chairman of UzSSR Gosplan, and then first deputy chairman of UzSSR Gosagroprom [State Agroindustrial Industry]. And now I am here again.

[A. Bezverkhov] In a word, you do not have just a hearsay knowledge of the work done by the water management people. Obviously, you have a better understanding also of the problems of agriculture. Because the agrarian specialists are the best partners of the land reclamation workers. May I assume that this influences the activities of the Minvodkhoz subdivisions?

[R. Giniyatullin] I would not say "partners." It would be more correct to call them members of the same agrobri-gade, or agroshop, in the broad sense. In any instance, that is how it must be. So far the actions of the water management specialists and the farmers have not always been intercoordinated. We may as well confess that an idea that has become firmly entrenched in the mind of many irrigation specialists is: once we have provided the water, our job is done, and then it is a job for the farm.

But we cannot continue working like that. The water shortage is the same for everyone. So our common goal is to achieve the intelligent and effective use of natural resources—the land and water. This is a single task that

cannot be divided into parts. Worldwide practice, as well as our own experience, has shown that the maintaining of the land's economic potential can be resolved only in a comprehensive manner. At such time practically the most important task is the carrying out of land reclamation measures.

Currently in Japan and the United States, the operational and other expenditures per hectare of plowed land annually come to approximately \$3000. The maintaining of the land's working condition costs that much. Because this is a complicated living organism. And it necessary constantly to carry out preventive work, to cure the land of its disease immediately. Otherwise it will cost us tens of times more in the future. Unfortunately, today we cannot invest more than 100-300 rubles per hectare. Therefore, the efficient use of each piece of plowland is an extreme necessity.

Today in Uzbekistan more than 2 million hectares out of 4 million contain less than one percent of humus. But we need two or three percent. The land has been exhausted: approximately 400,000 hectares annually produce roughly from 6 to 15 quintals of cotton. Our plowland urgently needs treatment everywhere. But for the time being, because of the limitation of funds, we are obliged to help at least the most difficult plots.

[A. Bezverkhov] But doesn't the republic have a program for the comprehensive remodeling of the old plowed areas? Is there something in the implementation of that program that doesn't satisfy you?

[R. Giniyatullin] There are several important factors here. First of all, the work has been proceeding basically at the interfarm structures and systems, separately from the intrafarm ones, where the work must be carried out by the kolkhozes and sovkhoses themselves. But they usually do not have any funds. Therefore, if we want to improve the rate of results, it is necessary to go to the aid of the farms.

Furthermore, it is necessary to approach each field individually. In our republic today approximately 700,000 hectares are in the initial stage of deterioration and require not so much improvement, as steps to stop the decrease in fertility. But even these steps require expenditures, but we keep trying to save money: as the expression goes, so long as it's alive, it can wait. But later on we will have to expend not only more money, but also more efforts.

Today in Surkhan-Darya Oblast, the Fergana Valley, and Tashkent and Bukhara oblasts there are farms with a cotton harvest yield of 23-25 quintals. That is the average level for the republic, but it is lower than the average indicator for the rayon or oblast. And it for that reason that that land can be considered to be in a bad condition from the point of view of land reclamation. Work must be done with that land, but it is possible that the work there will not have to include the entire set of measures when 4000-6000 rubles are invested in each hectare.

In this instance it would be better to channel the funds and efforts into the actually sick plots of land. Of course, there is also a problem here: such fields are usually small and not concentrated. But even those fields have to be restored. For the time being, however, we have been carrying out the comprehensive improvement of the irrigated plowland on large-sized areas that encompass all the land, including the fertile areas. This is at a time when a half-million hectares of actually sick land is awaiting land reclamation specialists.

It is also necessary to take another factor into consideration: annually the branch is allocated an amount of the order of 650 million rubles for construction-and-installation operations. Of that amount, more than 250 million rubles are used for communal-housing construction and the erecting of structures for social, cultural, and everyday services. And approximately 400 million rubles go into land reclamation operations that are directly linked with the land. That amount also includes the comprehensive assimilation of new land areas. With rates such as this, we will be able to carry out the reconstruction of our land fund, at best, in 50 years.

[A. Bezverkhov] But what is being proposed to increase the effectiveness of the operations?

[R. Giniyatullin] First of all, we must establish firm contacts with the farms. The farmers are the people who know the state of their land best. They know what has to be done, and where, first of all. At such time there will not always be a need specifically for land reclamation operations. For example, we might make this kind of "diagnosis": the yield from the plowland is small because... there is no one to work the fields. Then we shall build schools, kindergartens, clinics, and housing.

In the outlying areas it is necessary to determine and approve a plan for the operations as a whole—from the construction plan to implementation. We feel that the operations should be carried out without taking the land out of agricultural circulation, but instead should be done during the periods between vegetative processes. Otherwise large-sized areas of land will be "sitting idle" annually.

And there is something else: every year it is necessary to channel no less than 300 million rubles into direct land reclamation measures. Of that amount, 40 percent has to be spent to repair and build the intrafarm systems. In order to do this, subdivisions to work on the farms themselves must be activated in the Minvodkhoz system.

[A. Bezverkhov] Rim Abdulovich, soon the experiment involving payment for water use will be two years old. Large hopes were placed on that experiment. How do things stand today? What are the prospects?

[R. Giniyatullin] There are a lot of complicated questions here, for which the economists and scientists do not yet have any clear or unambiguous answer. Last year the experiment was conducted in 13 rayons in the republic.

In 1990 no new rayons will be added. But we are not putting the work "in mothballs." It will be carried out in greater depth. Simultaneously all the republic's irrigation systems are being checked and being prepared for the conditions of water-resource record-keeping. So that, at any moment—irrespective of whether payment for water has been introduced—the system will be ready.

The work experience that we have accumulated with regard to "paid" water poses more and more questions. For example, even in the example of one rayon, there is a different land potential, a different water quality, a different reliability in supplying the water. Correspondingly, the productivity of the water is dissimilar. So how does one determine the price?

When should the farms pay for the water—after the harvest has been brought in or immediately, like electric power?

Where do the wages paid to the operational workers come from, if, for some reason, the farms have not paid the money?

How does one take into consideration the water that has been collected by thousands of mobile pumping stations? What about the water collected from the water-collection and drainage network, or the water used for the private plots?

What if the farm does not want to accept the water that has been planned for it, so that the water flows into the Aral Sea? To whom is the bill submitted?

Moreover, the current system of payment for water does not encourage the farmers to economize. For example, if one cubic meter of water costs one kopeck, then a saving of 1000 cubic meters will make it possible to save 10 rubles. But in order to achieve this, the farm must spend 500 rubles.

These are not rhetorical questions. But so far they have not been resolved. Therefore we decided to form a special collective out of scientists and experienced specialists in practical applications to work in this area.

[A. Bezverkhov] You mentioned the Aral Sea. Nowadays we cannot ignore that topic. What is your opinion on the problem?

[R. Ginyatullin] Some people see it in an oversimplified way: if we fill up the sea with water, everything will be all right. That view is primitive and even dangerous. We must look at the entire set of problems.

At the present time, approximately 30 cubic kilometers of moisture evaporates from the total surface of the Aral Sea. Previously, 45 cubic kilometers used to evaporate, and today all of Uzbekistan collects 50 cubic kilometers. Therefore even if 20-21 cubic kilometers of water are fed into the sea, the level of the sea will still drop, on the minimum, by 7 meters from today's level. Those are objective conclusions made by scientists and specialists.

Therefore it is time for all of us to stop leveling accusations at one another and to begin looking for constructive resolutions of the problem.

I also would like very much to see the level of the Aral Sea rise and I am not opposed to providing additional water to the sea. But it is also necessary to remember the chief task that was stated in the decree issued by CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers: the improvement of the ecological and sanitation situation in the area of the Aral Sea, and the providing of assistance to region residents in resolving their social and economic problems. This is a realistic program and it must be resolved.

Today it is considered possible to save 10 cubic kilometers of fresh water for the sea. But the price of that saving is 25 billion rubles. Where is that money to come from, if half the republic's population has income that is below the subsistence level, and the basic source of livelihood for the rural population—the land being irrigated—is decreasing? Yes, the Aral Sea needs water. But so do the 700,000 people who are born annually in the republic.

I think that, in this regard, we could use some of the economized water to irrigate additional areas of land. That would be approximately one million hectares. We should not forget the population that is rapidly growing in Central Asia and Southern Kazakhstan. By the year 2000 that population will grow to 50 million. It will be necessary to find jobs and food for them. But even today the per-capita consumption of food products in our republics is below the average for the country.

And yet an additional million hectares is the opportunity to produce within the next ten years additional products from vegetable husbandry with a total value of 7-10 million rubles. It is necessary to consider all of this very carefully.

Finally, it is necessary to decide in a businesslike manner, without any emotions, how the millions of persons living in this part of the country will continue to live, and what they can count on. We would like very much for our "accusers" to tell us specifically what must be done. Or will it be necessary, after all, to return to what is being done throughout the world—to transfer resources from areas in which they are plentiful to an area where they are in short supply? That is, to return to the problem of the Siberian water?

[A. Bezverkhov] The next question is about the ministry itself. In the autumn of 1988 it was disbanded. Then, exactly a year later, it was formed again. How can one explain this?

[R. Ginyatullin] At that time it was not just Minvodkhoz that was disbanded, but also other departments and even rayons and oblasts. Personally I was against it and I said so openly. But I do not want to emphasize this—life itself has confirmed the undesirability of such "shakeups." And currently it not only our ministry that has been restored.

In principle, its tasks remain unchanged, and it is not necessary to invent anything. The basic trends in which the water management workers operate have been developed over the decades. But their work must be improved.

Unlike the previous ministry, the apparatus has been reduced—from 540 persons to 300. Most of them are new workers. They have all come from production jobs, from various oblasts in the republic. But, most importantly, they are energetic people, who know the problems of the branch and who are really “gung-ho.”

The work of the production subdivisions and the industry, on the whole, is to our liking. Rich experience has been accumulated and a powerful base has been created. The adjustments will be only in the direction of increasing the production of consumer goods. We shall activate all our available capacities. But the activities of the construction-design institutes will have to be reconsidered. Our construction designers are working in complete isolation from the specific land areas and farms. The designs do not take into consideration the real peculiarities of the terrain and supervision over the originator's plans is being carried out weakly. There are other complaints. But we shall correct the situation.

This is also necessary because we want to restore the prestige of the water management specialists. At the present time we have found ourselves in the role of the accused. The entire job performed by irrigators for many years is being presented only in a negative way. Are we really supposed to be answerable for the fate of the Aral Sea? Are we really guilty of the merciless exploitation of the land and the ecological imbalance?

No one will recall that half the population of Uzbekistan is living on reclaimed land. They have built cities and settlements, roads, electrical-transmission and communication lines, canals and antiflood structures... The experience of the irrigators of Uzbekistan is being studied throughout the world.

At the same time the farms, the industrial enterprises, and the inhabited places are using the water carelessly and polluting it. For example, as much as 40 percent of the fertilizers are washed off the fields and into the rivers. And industrial runoff continues. How does one evaluate this kind of “contribution”?

Without a doubt, we have had our miscalculations. But the republic's water management specialists also have something to be proud of. I am convinced that we will also do a beneficial job in the future. And I say this in the name of the thousands of people who have devoted their lives to water management.

Regional Environmentalists Create ‘Public Ecological Court’

90US0633A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Mar 90 Morning Edition

[Article under rubric “Valeriy Kornev Reports From Volgograd”: “Ecological Court: A Public Ecological Court Will Operate in the Lower Volga Area”]

[Text] “The decision to create it,” I was told by L. Savelyeva, chairman of the Volgograd Department of the Committee to Save the Volga, “was made by us at the conference of the socioecological association. This was brought about by the fact that, unfortunately, statements made in the press and public actions to protect the environment have been having only a slight effect. The departments, and sometimes also the local authorities, are continuing to ignore the warnings and the reasonable arguments. It is necessary for the law to go into effect.”

The ecological court will be conducted with the participation of people's assessors. Those assessors will include people's deputies, workers in the law-enforcement services, church representatives, and journalists. If the public court finds that there have been violations that are prosecuted according to the law, it will transfer the materials to the law-enforcement agencies.

“At the present time,” L. Savelyeva said, “we have begun collecting the materials pertaining to the Volga-Don-2 Canal. They will be submitted to the first session of the ecological court.”

Lemeshev to Head New Moscow Ecological Institute

90US0633B Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 3 Mar 90 Second Edition p 6

[Article by N. Lukyanova: “An Institute Has Been Established”]

[Text] The Institute of Ecology has been created in Moscow. It will operate under the aegis of the All-Union Cultural Foundation as a cost-accountable self-financed organization.

“Many regions of the country today are in a critical state, but Russia as a whole is an ecological disaster zone,” says Professor M. Lemeshev, the institute's general director, doctor of economic sciences, and United Nations expert on the environment. “A new danger is the penetration onto Russian territory of Western technological schemes that have not been planned in consideration with Russia's natural conditions. In particular, a number of joint enterprises that are ecologically insecure are already being created in Siberia. Unfortunately, the environmental-protection agencies are incapable of guaranteeing reliable monitoring, frequently as a result of the shortage specifically of skilled cadres. And yet the forces of specialists in various areas of expertise are concentrated in Moscow and the regions, and those forces could carry

out, on the basis of work orders from the institute, the necessary scientific-research, experimental-design, and production operations."

The Institute of Ecology is being assigned the following tasks: the inventorying of the harmful projects in the national economy; the production of instruments and reagents to be used by the time-responsive ecological expert services; the introduction into industry of ecologically pure technological schemes; the propagandizing of ecological knowledge; the training of cadres; and international cooperation in the area of the ecology.

Local Official Inaction Faulted in Oka River Pollution Crisis

90US0633C Moscow TRUD in Russian 1 Mar 90 p 1

[Article by A. Sugrobov, chief of the Administration for Overview of the Execution of Environmental-Protection Legislation, USSR Procuracy, under rubric "Alarming Warning Message": "Danger Zone in the Center of Russia: It Will Become a Death Zone If Immediate Steps Are Not Taken to Save It"]

[Text] This river in Russia can actually become a drainage ditch if the accidents at its purification structures are not stopped. On 6 June 1989 sewage water got into the Oka. A few days later, the accident was repeated. The Oka proved to be polluted as far as Tula and T'ryazan oblasts. Massive fish kills began, numerous complaints from citizens about the water quality began arriving, but even those circumstances did not alarm the leadership of the Orel Obl'zhilkomzhoz [Oblast Housing and Municipal Services Department] or the city ispolkom.

A fire at the Rayonnaya substation had caused a power outage at the purification structures for more than a day, and an additional 30,000 cubic meters of sewage was released into the Oka. According to preliminary estimates, the damage from the pollution of the Oka and the fish kill has come to 1,116,000 rubles.

At a conference at the Orel Oblast Ispolkom to discuss ways to eliminate the consequences of the accident, workers from the municipal services and the city ispolkom, and Comrade A. F. Poryadin, RSFSR deputy minister of housing and municipal economy, asserted that, within the very near future, they would take the necessary steps to assure the accident-free operation of the purification structures in Orel.

But, as the expression goes, "not even a year passed" before the people of Orel were again overtaken by a calamity, and the culprit proved to be the same one as previously—the same obl'zhilkomzhoz. This time, in the predawn hours of 22 January 1990, as a result of the settling of the ground, a break in the collector occurred, and approximately 40,000 cubic meters of polluted sewage water was dumped into the Oka. The latest in this series of investigations is currently being conducted by the Orel Oblast procuracy. The investigation is supposed

to ascertain whether it will be at all possible to operate the purification structures in Orel, and what major technical, economic, and organizational steps must be taken to improve the ecological situation in the Oka drainage area and in Orel in particular.

But one cannot fail also to mention here the inconsistent position taken by RSFSR Goskompriroda [State Committee for Environmental Protection], that has limited itself only to informing RSFSR Council of Ministers concerning the circumstances surrounding the accident. The Orel Oblast procuracy is also working without any special exertion of efforts: a criminal case has been initiated, and the situation has been discussed reasonably and thoroughly at the board. The investigation of cases in this kind of category actually is complicated, but no delay (the case has been under investigation for more than six months) can be justified, inasmuch as the accidents are continuing. And the river, as well as the country as a whole, is being irreparably damaged.

RSFSR Procuracy has also failed to take effective steps against the persons guilty of violating environmental-protection legislation. We too have a share of the blame for this. However, purification structures cannot be corrected by initiating yet another criminal case. What is necessary first of all right now is to stabilize the ecological situation in Orel and to save the Oka from permanent misfortune.

Mariupol Citizens Issue Public Appeal on Local Environmental Concerns

90US0633D Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 1 Feb 90 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Let's Return the Azov Area to Health: Appeal by Mariupol Workers to a Session of UkSSR Supreme Soviet and to the Republic's Citizens"]

[Text] The public movement to improve the environment in the Azov area has united within its ranks party and soviet workers, scientists, cultural and artistic figures, and activists from the Zelenyy Svit [Green World], Za Chisty Mariupol [For a Clean Mariupol], and other organizations. It is extremely noteworthy that V. G. Merkulov, second secretary of the party's Mariupol Gorkom, and V. M. Lysov, deputy chairman of the city ispolkom, have been elected to the administrative agencies of the Save the Sea of Azov committee.

The appeal that follows is the fruit of the collective mind of the people of Mariupol. The city dwellers formulated their evaluations of the ecological situation that has developed in the area of the Sea of Azov and their recommendations for taking it out its crisis situation, and refined those formulations during the course of ecological expeditions and work to recreate a realistic picture of the pollution of the sea, and in discussions on the pages of PRIAZOVSKIY RABOCHIY newspaper. The editorial office of that newspaper had given the opportunity to everyone to express his point of view—metallurgists and

physicians, seamen and scientists, members of informal organizations and workers at party and soviet agencies. The people of Mariupol prepared a single point of view concerning what must be done to save the Azov area, to transform the ecological disaster zone into a recreational area for the republic's workers, and to return to the land of plenty the glory of a curative resort.

The deformation of the environment in the southern part of the Donbass and the Sea of Azov has reached a critical condition. The thoughtless technical and social policy has led what used to be at one time a flourishing land to a profound ecological crisis. Every 24 hours, a resident of our city receives a "portion" of noxious substances weighing more than 4 kilograms. More than a billion cubic meters of slag—almost one-third of which is polluted—is dumped annually into the Sea of Azov and the Kalchik and Kalmius rivers.

People have forgotten the days when the sea was rich in fish and a recreational area for the workers of Donbass and the Ukraine. We have become hostages of USSR Ministry of Metallurgy and other departments that are deaf to the demands of the local population. Very large metallurgical combines—Azovstal Combine, the Combine imeni Ilich, and the coke-chemical plant—are operating in city at full capacity, polluting the city's environment. These three enterprises produce 96 percent of the total discharge.

The implementation of the departmental priorities in the economy has led to disproportions in developing the economic and social sectors of the city's infrastructure. Out of 5.4 billion rubles of capital investments used during the last 30 years in Mariupol, only 0.8 billion rubles, or 16.3 percent, was channeled into the development of the social sphere, and even less was expended to meet the needs of the ecology—1.6 percent.

Our numerous appeals to union and republic agencies failed to produce any tangible results. And the instructions from our country's government—to prepare recommendations to improve the ecological situation in our city—have been completely lost in the oblast and republic offices.

From year to year the government's decree concerning the limitation of industrial construction, concerning the attainment by the year 1995 of the standards for the maximum admissible discharge of pollutants into the atmosphere, and the implementation of the measures to prevent the pollution of the Sea of Azov has not been fulfilled in our city.

The documents proposed by USSR Ministry of Metallurgy—Program for First-Priority Operations for Metallurgical Enterprises in 1988-1995, and Scheme for Developing the Metallurgical Branch by the Year 2005—are not acceptable, since they do not stipulate a reduction of the maximum permissible concentrations until the beginning of the twenty-first century. In addition, the critical shortage of industrial construction capacities in the city and the obvious imperfections of the technical

decisions place in doubt, even at the present time, the implementation of what has been planned.

Inefficient use is being made of the shores of the Sea of Azov to improve the workers' health. The construction of rest homes, boarding homes, and sanatoriums is being carried out haphazardly, in an uncomprehensive manner. There is a lack of plumbing and the necessary purification structures, and the cultural, trade, and public-nutrition facilities are not being created.

Although we possess a tremendous economic potential, we do not have the right to use its capabilities to create normal living conditions, or, first of all, to resolve the questions of environmental protection. Practically speaking, the city has been left without any assistance on the part of the central departments or agencies of power.

We citizens of Mariupol are opposed to shifting the burden of resolving all the ecological problems that have accumulated simply onto the collectives at the enterprises or onto the city. We appeal to UkSSR Supreme Soviet and to you, comrade deputies, because we feel that the major improvement of the ecological situation in the city requires:

- as a first step the granting, starting in 1990, of the right to the city's enterprises to sell part of the output they produce, within a framework of state production orders, abroad for the purpose of acquiring, in exchange for currency, environmental-protection equipment and resource-economizing technological schemes, and involving foreign companies in the construction of environmental-protection projects;
- a change in the structure of the city's productive forces on the basis of a limitation of the industrial construction, the reduction of the volumes of metallurgical production, and the redistribution of the resources that are made available, for the purpose of developing the social sphere, as well as ecologically safe production entities at the operating enterprises;
- the creation on the shore of the Sea of Azov a protected zone, for which purpose it is necessary to shut down the ecologically unfavorable enterprises or to move them outside its confines; and the stipulation of the fulfillment of compensatory measures when locating industrial projects, as well as recreational facilities, on the shore;
- the allocation of the necessary funds for developing the shore as a republic-level health resort.

This appeal was discussed in the labor collectives of Mariupol and was signed by thousands of city residents.

Moscow Electric Plant Construction Said To Violate Environmental

90US0564A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 7, 17-23 Feb 90 p 3

[Article by Yu. Sysoyev, L. Sokolchik, and V. Shkatov: "Clouds Over the City . . ."]

[Text] In connection with the continuing construction of the Northern TETs, we once again appeal to the government, this time through ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, with questions raised at numerous meetings and assemblies, resolutions signed by more than 300,000 residents of the Moscow region and 84 people's deputies.

We are building a law-governed state. So who was it who, in violation of the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution of 3 July 1985 "On the observance of environmental protection legislation requirements" ordered the financing for the construction of the gigantic energy plant before an environmental impact study had been made? Who overruled the findings of the RSFSR State Committee for Environmental Protection study conducted from April to September of 1989 by major specialists? Why has the current commission of the USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection been formed in blatant violation of the basic legal principle for organizing extradepartmental expertise? Disproportionately represented are the Energy Ministry and organizations involved in the preparation, coordination, and realization of the project, such as Deputy Minister A. D'yakov, Northern TETs director N. Sandler, general director of the Moscow Energy Organization N. Serebryanikov, and many others. Why is the commission headed up by E. Minayev, who in 1980 worked in Gosstroy and who recommended not creating an SZZ (health protection zone) for this plant? At the same time, the commission has on it few scholars from any extradepartmental scientific research institutes involved with the region's ecology, nor is there a legal expert.

Why are the destinies of millions of people being decided, as before, by a "majority" hand-picked by the departments? Why, finally, wasn't the round-the-clock construction halted at long enough for the commission to do its work?

We feel it is essential that there be a unified, scientifically based program for the development of energy and heat supplies for Moscow and the oblast that provides in particular for the removal of 200 power-consuming enterprises to outside the region, the introduction of energy-saving technologies, the improvement of heat-insulating means of construction and communication, the siting of new sources of electric power on the oblast's periphery, it being impermissible to bring them closer to densely populated rayons. Today Moscow, which produces 1.5 times the electric power the city itself needs and supplies 40% of Podmoskovkiy's demand, is suffocating within a ring of 15 TETses that lack air-filtering equipment. We possess data proving that in many rayons the PDK has been exceeded for nitric oxide, sulphur, carbon monoxide, carcinogenic fuel emissions, and pentoxide vanadium. Oxygen deprivation is noticeable in the capital; after all, the Northern TETs intercepts the clean air coming in from outlying wooded tracts. Moreover, its supply of gas is provided at the expense of increasing the portion of combustible fuel oil at the city's other TETses.

The heating shortage that the Energy Ministry has predicted, which the residents assigned to the construction in the northern part of Moscow and the Mytishchi blocks presumably will feel, has been raised several times. Therefore we believe that the construction of the Northern TETs must be stopped and the plants already equipped reprofiled. As it is, their cost will exceed the projected cost (275 million rubles) by 2-3 times. Even the project itself is essentially sketchy and contains a great number of mutually contradictory changes and additions that never received proper legal approval. It does not take into consideration the summation effects of the TETs's harmful wastes with the background pollution. It does not provide for automatic control systems for the wastes across the board. It provides only for the clean-up of nitric oxide.

The real threat of additional pollution hangs not only over Moscow but also over Mytishchi, Kaliningrad, Losinyy Island, and reservoirs of drinking, ground, and underground waters. The status of Moscow's forest greenbelt has been violated (in 1973 the Moscow Soviet prohibited industrial construction here).

The builders are destroying the ancient village of Chelobit'yevo, which is part of a protected zone of a monument of 17th century history and culture—the Church of the Annunciation in the settlement of Tayninskiy.

We hope that the Soviet of Ministers and the people's deputies will not permit violations either of the new resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 27 October 1989 "On urgent measures for the country's ecological recuperation."

Yu. Sysoyev is a member of the Expert Commission of the USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection. L. Sokolchik and V. Shkatov are members of

Yerevan Workers Concerned Over Nairit Works Closure Economic Impact

90US0475A Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian 7 Jan 90 p 1

[Armenpress article: "The Nairit Scientific-Production Association: Pro or Contra"]

[Text] According to the Decree of the Armenian Supreme Soviet of 25 June 1989 "On the Ecological State in the Republic and Measures to Further Improve It," as of 1 January 1990, the harmful types of production at the Nairit NPO [Scientific-Production Association] were halted. This decision was received with satisfaction by the public. However, recently the leading republic bodies have begun to receive letters and telegrams from the workers in which they, while correctly noting the correctness of the policy of improving the ecological situation in Yerevan and, in particular, the closing down of the Nairit NPO, at the same time express concern over the consequences of this, in their view, somewhat hurried step. They are concerned by the question of how the closing down of the association will

be reflected on the republic economy at the threshold of converting all the Union republics to economic independence. Is it advisable precisely now to abandon this monopoly product which could become an important source of foreign exchange earnings for the republics? How would the closure of Nairit be reflected on the other enterprises using its products? Particular concern for the fate of the multithousand-strong collective has been expressed by the Nairit workers themselves and by the workers of other related enterprises in Yerevan.

The decision of the expanded session of the Labor Collective Council [STK] of the Nairit NPO signed by the Council Chairman, the USSR People's Deputy S. Usyan has pointed out that the cut-and-dried decision by the Armenian Supreme Soviet was taken in a dramatically tense time, without proper scientific back-up and without a realistic and objective assessment of the true ecological state of the enterprise and the area. The association did not conduct research on the ecological state with the participation of competent specialists. The Decree of the USSR Council of Ministers No. 1411 of 11 December 1987 has not been implemented and according to this the Armenian Ministry of Health in 1988 was instructed to conduct a medical examination of the employees at the Nairit NPO and on the basis of the obtained results, work out and implement the corresponding necessary health-protecting measures. Contrary to the decree, they still have not begun the designing and creation of the association's sanitary zone and the other conditions of the decree have also not been carried out.

The STK of the association unanimously feels that at present there are real opportunities to put off the date for closing down production and restructure individual types of production for ecologically safe and waste-free production processes.

The decision of the STK of the Nairit NPO, in particular, points out that it is essential to conduct research at the NPO on the ecological state with the requisite involvement of skilled, competent specialists, including foreign ones, with the results to be publicized and widely debated in the mass information media with the corresponding objective commentary.

It has also been pointed out that the Decision of the USSR Council of Ministers No. 1411 of 11 December 1987 which instructs the Armenian Ministry of Health in 1988 to conduct a medical examination of the employees at the Nairit NPO has not been fully carried out. The Council demands the complete implementation of the decision of the USSR Council of Ministers and a resumption of the medical examination of the association's employees and the publicizing of the results.

The association's administration is confronted with the task, together with the Armenian Council of Ministers and the Republic Gosplan, within a 1-month period to work out proposals to restructure the association and resolve the social questions of the workers. The opinion

of the labor collective without fail is to be taken into account in a discussion of the planning and executing of the work related to the restructuring.

The STK has raised the demand to fully consider the social consequences of closing down and restructuring production and to solve the questions of job placement, pension and housing security for the members of the Nairit collective. The collective feels that in carrying out essential measures to strengthen industrial safety and resolve the social needs of the Nairit workers, it is completely possible and advisable to shift the dates for closing down the production of chloroprene rubber.

* * *

The decision of the labor collective of the Yerevan Vitamin Plant states:

From the 4th quarter of 1989 "with the help" of Azerbaijan, vitamin C production has been halted at our plant. Fixed capital totaling 5 million rubles has been halted as well as 200 employees on this production line. We have failed to produce 90 tons of vitamin C valued at 1.6 million rubles.

From 3 January 1990, due to the halt of the supply of nitrogen from the Nairit NPO, the plant has been completely shut down. Fixed capital valued at 15 million rubles and 650 plant employees have been idle. Each day we fail to produce vitamins valued at 110,000 rubles.

According to existing data, in the near future the town TETs is to be shut down and with a frost this will lead to the complete shutting down of the existing fixed capital valued at 15 million rubles.

As is known, a large number of plants in the republic is in an analogous situation.

Our collective feels that an improvement in the ecological state of Yerevan is a primary task. However, the achieving of this goal by destroying the republic economy is irrational.

This is the same thing as prohibiting the operation of motor transport in Yerevan as certainly 75-80 percent of the atmospheric pollution is created by the operating of motor transport.

We find that not only the Nairit NPO but also all production and facilities negatively influencing the ecology of Yerevan should halt their operations but this must be done reasonably, stage by stage, according to a state program, without violating the already ailing republic economy.

On the question of the Nairit NPO, we would propose halting the external production of liquid chlorine, reducing product output to a level ensuring a normal ecological state, taking all of the necessary measures to reduce the harmful discharges into the atmosphere, remove from Yerevan the ecologically polluting types of

production over the next 3 or 4 years and ensure product output on the level of the republic's requirements.

We also propose that the republic leadership come forward with a full program to move ecologically harmful production out of Yerevan and restructure this, having organized a republic-wide discussion of the given question.

On behalf of the plant collective, the appeal was signed by the Director A. Ter-Stepanyan, the Party Buro Secretary F. Matevosyan, the Trade Union Committee Chairman M. Ambartsumyan and the STK Chairman S. Nersesyan.

Participants Comment on Georgian Ecological Conference

90US0475B Tbilisi MOLODEZH GRUZII in Russian
19 Dec 89 p 6

[Conference report written up by S. Gabuniya and I. Sikharulidze: "Ecology—A Concern of the Entire World"]

[Text] Recently in Tbilisi, the first ecologists congress completed its work at the Chess Palace. The organizers of the congress were the Georgian Ecologists Association and the republic Greens Movement. The Georgian Society for Friendship and Cultural Ties With Foreign Countries provided great assistance in its preparation. Meeting to discuss the urgent and particularly acute ecological problems confronting the republic were representatives from the Georgian Greens Front, as well as guests from Moscow, Riga, Vilnius, Tallinn, Alma-Ata, Sumgait, Leningrad, as well as from Sweden and West Germany. We all realize how important it is at present to address nature and for this reason the debates were over each question be it Georgian social and cultural policy, the legal guarantees for the economic [sic] safety of national economic facilities or energy or medical and demographic problems from the standpoint of ecology.

In the process of the congress work we were able to meet and speak with certain of its participants concerning the goals and tasks of the measure being carried out as well as ecological problems in Georgia, other regions of our nation and abroad.

Chairman of the Greens Movement in Georgia and Corresponding Member of the Georgian Academy of Sciences Givi Tumanishvili: The main task for our congress was the final formation of an ecological movement in Georgia and its structure capable in the future of operating effectively. The congress discussed a number of technical and organizational questions. For us such a measure is a new undertaking and for this reason some problems were inevitable. But in summing up, it could be said that for this first time everything went not badly.

Head of the Republic Hydrometeorological Administration Murman Aridiya: We have been speaking for a long

time about the economic [as published] state of our republic but this was the first time a congress has been devoted precisely to this.

Specifically, we have already designated a problem for all the large cities, transport. While in the West the question of air pollution by exhaust fumes is being worked on, in our country and, in particular, in Tbilisi, this question has been neglected. The Hydrometeorological Administration frequently conducts observations of the air and water and it must be said that the results are very alarming. For example, in the surface layers of the water of the Black Sea, there are large amounts of toxic dust (DDT), phenol, acids as well as other harmful substances. Particular focus should be put on the preparation DDT which is often called hepatic. This toxin accumulates in the liver and is virtually not eliminated from the organism.

It is not news to anyone that a majority of the republic rivers has been turned into sewage ditches. Analyses have shown that in addition to toxic chemicals, they contain a large amount of lead and various acids. As an example, I can give the following fact: in the Kvibistskali River the harmful substances are 160-fold above the standard.

All of these are very serious questions which require an immediate solution. The congress has provided us with an opportunity to share our problems with one another, to exchange experience and possibly to borrow something.

Member of the People's Front of Latvia and Member of the Club for the Protection of the Environment Ins Tsalytsys: I am very pleased to have been able to participate in this congress and become acquainted with the Greens Movement in Georgia and this movement, in my view, is picking up strength. I would like to say that the Greens Movement was the very first informal association in Latvia dating back to 1986. And the first steps which we took were measures to preserve and restore the architectural and historical monuments. A little later the movement grew into the Club for the Protection of the Environment. At present, we already have in our ranks 2,500 supporters and like-thinkers. It must be said that during this time we have already achieved certain advances and we consider the first to be the organizing of a demonstration against building a subway in Riga. As is known, our city is a medieval one, very densely built up and on a friable soil. The building of an underground subway could involve the loss of the historical part of Riga which is basically built on oak pilings.

At present, we are endeavoring to move all industrial enterprises outside of Riga and the other large cities in the republic. In our plans for the ecological independence of the republic, very many of the industrial facilities must be restructured. Undoubtedly the moving of harmful enterprises out of the city also must be done carefully as the recreational areas are located there.

Representative of the Greens Department in the Bundestag Sieglinda Fries (West Germany): Having heard the papers and speeches by the representatives from the various regions of your nation, I undoubtedly could not help but notice the common features in our actions. I feel that the Greens Movement, as in our country, West Germany, is taking on a political cast and this is important because there are no ecological or economic problems which to some degree are not linked to politics. And if we wish to achieve any progress in our movement, we should keep pace with politics.

In West Germany, for example, the Greens Party until recently was the only political force fighting for ecology. But at present, virtually all the West German parties include points on environmental protection in their programs. That is, we have competing firms and at present there is a fight for spheres of influence, regardless of the fact that our competitors are unable to operate effectively. For 15 years now, the West German Greens Party has been fighting for the closing down of nuclear plants. However, our demands have evoked only irritation and probably things would have gone on this way had it not been for the emergency at the nuclear plant in Schleswig-Holstein. Fortunately, the reactor was able to be shut down promptly, otherwise the tragedy of Chernobyl could have been repeated.

The Speaker of the Greens Party in the Swedish Riksdag Fiona Berling: I would like to thank the congress organizers for the invitation. This again has shown that on the questions of ecology there cannot be opposition. Regardless of the fact that we may not understand one another on certain matters, on the questions of protecting the environment we must all think alike.

In 1988, in the Swedish Riksdag, where five parties had been firmly established for the last 30 years, to universal amazement, a new party appeared, the Greens Party. And in addition to ecological problems, we have begun to raise political and social problems.

Thus, the ecologists congress has completed its work. And no matter how diverse the questions raised at it might be, one thing is clear: In ecology there are no main and secondary problems, either in Georgia, Latvia or Sweden. The protection of the environment is the most important problem of our entire planet.

Podolsk Pollution Concerns Launch Paper's Environmental Campaign

Letter Highlights Podolsk Problems

90US0561 Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*
in Russian 11 Feb 90 p 1

[Letter from Ye. Zherdev, engineer; Yu. Shomin, chief of the Gidropress Experimental Design Bureau; V. Prokhorov, engineer at the eletromechanical plant; V. Pukhov, designer; V. Ryaznov, turner at the Plant imeni S. Ordzhonikidze; V. Bugriy, worker; R. Nikolayeva, engineer at the Cable Plant imeni K. Gotvald; N.

Ivanova, engineer at the mechanical plant; G. Kuznetsova, designer, Podolsk: "The Health of the City Near Moscow is the Hostage of Departments"]

[Text] Podolsk has long been called the industrial center of the localities near Moscow. But we do want to be proud of this. Tens of thousands of tons of substances poisoning the human body annually accumulate in the smog hanging over the city. Both carbon monoxide and nitric oxides are not the worst of them.

In 1960 it was decided to stop further production growth in Podolsk. There were the same governmental decrees in the 1970's and the 1980's. What is the result?

The first decree limited the city's development to the level of 15 or 20 industrial enterprises. Subsequently, the figure approached 200. It is not surprising that the mass of discharges into the atmosphere in Podolsk exceeds 65,000 tons annually. The morbidity level is on the verge of disaster.

From 1986 to 1989 the Podolsk Sanitary and Epidemiological Station more than once passed decrees on halting the operation of enterprises with the most harmful discharges into the atmosphere—at the storage battery plant, the Mechanical Plant imeni M. I. Kalinin, the Mikroprovod, the cement plant, the fruit water plant, the industrial dump plant, the Podolsk Nonferrous Metal Plant, the meat combine, and others. However, many of these decisions proved to have a zero, or rather, a negative effect on the health of city residents.

The waters of the Pakhra and its tributaries are now unsuitable for bathing and drinking. The atmosphere is extremely heavy and no wind rose saves it.

The situation is also aggravated by the fact that the meat combine, the bakery, the vegetable base, and the knitwear factory are located next to storage battery, cable, and chemical and metallurgical plants and the Mikroprovod Plant. That is, the effect on the human body occurs not only from outside. Harmful substances are primordially embedded in food products and clothing and workers at seemingly ecologically clean enterprises suffer the same health damage as workers at ecologically dangerous ones.

The city occupies an advantageous transport position—a river, a railroad juncture, and Simferopol and Warsaw motor directions. Plants are growing like mushrooms. But what kind of enterprises are these? For example, at the storage battery plant lead concentration at main work places exceeds the permissible limit 10- to 100-fold. At a distance of 1,000 meters from this enterprise lead exceeds maximum permissible concentrations 16.6-fold and is detected at the distance of up to 3 km. Tricresol and chlorobenzene exceed the permissible norm 6- to 8-fold in a radius of 3 km from the Mikroprovod and cement dust, 2- fold in a radius of 1.5 to 2 km from the cement plant.

We would like to add to this that about 7,000 Podolsk residents live in the sanitary protection zone of city enterprises. Moreover, existing city microrayons—Severnnyy [Northern], Yuzhnyy [Southern], Parkovyy [Park], Mezhsosseyyny [Interhighway], and Privokzalnyy [Railroad Station]—are in the vicinity of industrial enterprises. In a number of microrayons the dust load exceeds the background 10- to 30-fold and the Novosyrovskiy microrayon surrounded from all sides by a ring of plants is also being poisoned by the city dump used for warehousing household and industrial waste and radioactive ground.

Not only the giants of industry make, or rather, spoil the "weather." Small enterprises also help here. As a rule, nature protection policy leaves them in the background. Psychologically, for the public they are, so to speak, goals No 2. However, let us take, for example, the combine of the USSR Arts Foundation. Its discharges include cobalt, cadmium, and lead. Their content in the soil is 1.5- to 2-fold higher than maximum permissible concentrations and points to the chronic pollution of adjoining territories with heavy metals. Discharges of the Vtortsvetmet Plant include tin, lead, and other heavy metals. Last year the Podolsk Confectionery Factory so polluted the adjoining reservoirs with sewage that only by a miracle was disaster avoided. Many of the small enterprises are actively building up capacities and the flow of their motor transport is increasing. And all this is being done with the sanction of the Council of Ministers and the Moscow Oblast Executive Committee.

The results of such an attitude toward the city and its residents were predetermined in advance. Cases of radioactive contamination at the Podolsk Nonferrous Metal Plant, at the industrial dump in Kurilovo on the premises of the chemical and metallurgical plant, and in house No 64/1 on Roshchinskaya Street were uncovered last year. In all, there were nine such cases. We believe that similar cataclysms occurred and will occur, because there is virtually no incoming inspection of arriving raw materials.

The situation is aggravated by the fact that in the city there is no preventive medical examination of the population, which would establish the effect of the polluted environment on health. It is difficult to determine the cause of a possible disease if, for example, the presence of two factors—radioactive and lead contamination of a locality—is exposed. For now prevention, basically, is reduced to ascertaining cases of lowered bodily resistance to diseases.

We believe that the fight for ecological cleanliness, in fact, is a fight against the administrative and command system of power. It is directly to blame for the fact that under conditions when the harmfulness of a specific enterprise is obvious it is impossible to attain a just solution of the problem.

Last December the executive committee of the city soviet held a session on ecology. Decisions were adopted.

However, it is already clear right now that there are virtually no shifts. In the meantime nature is dying and destroying us.

FROM THE EDITORIAL STAFF:

This alarming letter calls for action. In "Postscript to the Issue" published on page 4 you will read what RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA intends to do.

Our correspondent received the following assignment: To find out in appropriate departments and organizations whether they are alarmed by the created ecological situation. What do they do in practice to defuse it?

Appeal for Environmental Information

90US0561 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA
in Russian 11 Feb 90 p 4

[Article by the brigade on duty (RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, No 35): "Postscript to the Issue"]

[Text] The city of Podolsk near Moscow is not big—it has only about 200,000 inhabitants. It is small on the country scale. But, it turns out that it is big on the scale of the problem that has "ripened" on its territory—the problem of survival with the coming ecological catastrophe. (We published the letter from anxious Podolsk residents on the first page of today's issue).

The following aphorism has already appeared among the people: If we do not destroy each other with nuclear explosions, we will be wiped off the face of the earth by the waste of industrial activity. It would be more accurate to say: We will disfigure the face of the earth itself to such a degree that, as the saying goes, the mother will not recognize her own child. We are already disfiguring it—this is evidence of our barbaric ingratitude to Mother Nature at every step.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA proposes: Let us begin to approach the problem of nature protection in a businesslike manner. And, to maintain order, we will try to count:

How much money in the budget of your republic, oblast, city, rayon, and, finally, your enterprise is allocated for nature protection measures? On what, specifically, was this money spent last year and last January?

What waste-free technologies have been introduced at your production facility? What has been done by your collective to help nature to withstand the onslaught of "civilization"?

How many organizations called upon to protect nature are in your city? What is the result of their activity? If there is no result, or it is negative, then why?

Finally, what do the procuracy and other law enforcement bodies called upon to follow the implementation of

nature protection laws do? If, as they say, they "have not made anyone accountable" and the encroachment on the environment continues, is it not time to make these bodies themselves "accountable" to the people for tolerating those who encroach on our health and the health of our offspring?

Offensive-smelling pipes smoke, harmful discharges flow, and toxic chemicals are sprayed not only in Podolsk, in localities near Moscow, and in Moscow. Let us together—in rural and urban areas, at enterprises, on construction projects, and in institutes—search and think (and do!) how to pay back our heretofore unpaid debt to nature!

Komsomol Head on Youth Movement Problems

90UN0693A Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII
in Russian 12 Dec 89 p 3

[Interview with Viktor Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, by Mark Levin, MOLODEZH ESTONII reporter, at the 21st Estonian Komsomol Congress: "Hope Dies Last"]

[Text] MOLODEZH ESTONII reporter Mark Levin questions Viktor Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee concerning the current problems of the Soviet youth movement.

[Levin] It was stated at the Komsomol Central Committee plenums that the Leninist Komsomol is experiencing a crisis. In this situation do you, a Komsomol leader, look to the future with hope? Or do you think that the Communist Youth League has already played out its role?

[Mironenko] Although the crisis is obvious, I look ahead with optimism. The crisis has arisen largely due to the unusual nature of the situation: people are expressing themselves freely, albeit in conflicts, but they are freely choosing their position. This is a crisis? But when everyone marched in step, and at the same time they thought one thing but said another, was that not a crisis? Our membership has now declined by one-quarter, and to some this seems a crisis. But the fact that people often used to join without thinking about what they were applying for, was that not an expression of a crisis? Those processes which we are experiencing so acutely are, of course, very complex as well as painful. But, after all, we are living through a transition period; hardly anyone today can say what our society will be like in 10 years, but the fact that changes for the better have already begun in itself sows optimism. And even if at the same time there is still concern, it is at least concern about the pace and outcome of these changes.

[Levin] And if as a result of the transformations, the delegates to the Komsomol congresses at the republic level vote for the elimination of the Komsomol, then what will you do?

[Mironenko] I think that the problem is not what I will do but rather what the rank-and-file Komsomol members will do. I have an attitude of great respect for all the delegates of your congress (the conversation with V. Mironenko took place in the lobby during the 21st Estonian Komsomol congress—M.L.); they are the authorized representatives of their organizations. Although a certain strange feature has been noted: if a conference has adopted a decision concerning self-dissolution, does this mean that the delegates at the congress represent an organization which no longer exists? However, these are fine points of the charter, to be sure. The nuance which I would like to talk about is this: even if a conference has adopted a decision concerning self-dissolution, this is still not dissolution of the

organization. In actual fact, the dissolution of an organization will not occur until there is not a single member (or at least no more than two) remaining in it. And I do not believe that in all of Estonia there are not at least several dozen people who are complete adherents of democracy, who share all the concerns of their native republic and who at the same time reject communist ideology. [as printed] All the same, the last word remains with the rank-and-file members of the Komsomol. Lenin said that there are decisions which even so representative a forum as a congress cannot adopt. The entire organization must determine them.

[Levin] You do not think that a situation may arise in which only representatives of the non-indigenous minority will remain in the Komsomol and that this will create the preconditions for confrontation within the youth milieu of the republic.

[Mironenko] The Komsomol Central Committee thinks that any decision which threatens a split along nationality lines is fundamentally unacceptable. The Komsomol Central Committee has laid out more constructive proposals in a program statement and in a very broad and democratic platform about the future of the Communist Youth League. I think that young people of all categories and nationalities can find something of meaning for themselves in these documents.

[Levin] How do you see the Komsomol of the future: as an association, as a federation or as a confederation? Does it not seem to you that in this regard what is taking place at the republic-level Komsomol congresses is a kind of development of a model for changes in the party? I ask about this because I have witnessed Komsomol congresses in Lithuania, and now in Estonia... "Development by analogy" suggests itself!

[Mironenko] I am deeply convinced that the idea of a unified youth league, even on the scale of such an immense country as the USSR is a powerful social ideal. But in order for it to be realized and not distorted, certain conditions are needed. In my opinion, they did not exist before, and they still have not been established completely. A very precise balance between unity and diversity is also necessary: unity in diversity and diversity in unity—that is what we need. But up to now we have not managed this... The question about "developing a model," like the question about the future of the Komsomol, cannot be removed from the context of that transition period which we are experiencing. My greatest mistake was that I assumed that the Komsomol could be renewed without changing society. I came to understand—but by no means immediately—that the question could not be put that way, much less could it be solved that way. But this probably reflected the linearity of our thinking; I, like several others, was more inclined to a vector vision, so to speak. In the end we came to understand the illusory nature of such notions. But otherwise... We would have been forced to say to ourselves: stop, end of the line, we have arrived! And to present what had been achieved as if it were the highest

stage of human development. But after all, this is neither true nor possible. The changes which have begun in our country I now accept as irreversible and essential. Because they are bringing us back to the resolution of questions which for a long time remained outside the field of vision (especially questions of democratization).

[Levin] Is the Komsomol Central Committee setting itself concrete goals in this regard?

[Mironenko] These tasks have already been outlined. First, there is the formation of a strong and integrated state policy on youth. The state must implement this policy; consequently, a mechanism for its realization and legal guarantees are needed. In this area serious work has already started: there is the Committee on Youth Affairs and the draft of a Law Concerning Young People (although it is true in the USSR Supreme Soviet the discussion of the draft law is being held up by all possible means). The second task results from the diversity of views and positions in the youth milieu. Now, at the very least, expressions such as "all Soviet youth unanimously support"...seem unrealistic. It means there is one way out: to provide young people with the opportunity to manifest their own diversity. This requires new structures which could help to realize this diversity and which could preserve at the same time that commonality which is natural, given the fact of life in one country.. Most likely this could be an updated version of the Committee of Youth Organizations or the Council of Youth Organizations...The third task flows from the fact that now the Komsomol needs to learn to live and function under completely new conditions, and this requires many changes within the league. All three of these tasks must be resolved in a coordinated manner. Then we shall be able to achieve real authority with a firmer foundation.

[Levin] And you, Viktor, do you not think that when young people express a lack of faith in the Komsomol in its traditional form, this in fact means something greater: the loss of faith in ideals, including the ideals of our system and our state? And if this is so, will youth even begin to working on your three-tiered task?

[Mironenko] I do not think that our young people do not believe in anything. A certain skepticism is noticeable, but, it is possible that this is simply a "reaction"; young people have simply moved away from one thing and they have not yet become attached to another. They are sort of hanging in mid-air. They do not believe that what happened in 1917 and then in 1937 was the best or the only correct course. They have moved away from this and that is completely natural. It is another matter that in the process of purification (yes, and of negation!) sometimes the baby is thrown out with the bath water now.

[Levin] That is, you think that the thirst for ideals and faith can be revived, that it will appear again?

[Mironenko] Yes, it has never failed! And never will fail. After all, a person always has this characteristic: hope dies last. Nonetheless, I am convinced that in the late

20th century the moral and cultural values common to all humanity are most fully reflected in communist ideology. Although not in that form which we have become accustomed to, i.e., not in an emasculated and dogmatized form, but rather in a full-blooded and lively form. This kind of ideology may provide not only faith in ideals, but also strength to strive for them. The cleansing process is essential; it has already begun, and I do not know how long it will last or in what form the main theoretical ideas will crystallize. But there are objective laws of development, over which we at one time tried to prevail. Life took harsh revenge upon us for this, but now we are beginning to submit to them with greater respect. The current process is difficult; both skepticism and nihilism are completely understandable, but we shall not forget that this process is a feature of a transition period. However, every transition period, by definition, will end some time. I know only that through a return to democratic values we are marching in the right direction. And these values exist in the consciousness of young people.

[Levin] Clarify for us please: you suggest that today's young people are capable of moving ahead with the creative idea of transforming society and the state, and at the same time of cementing the integrity of the Komsomol and the Union of SSR's?

[Mironenko] In the form which this previously took, no, of course not. I think that now man will be the center of everything. And not only that new person, who will one day be born of today's young people, but also they themselves, who, by taking the difficult path of getting to know themselves and their society, will be able to go further on the basis of constructive and humanistic ideas. Yes, there will be still more re-evaluations and denials and errors, but there is only one teacher here, and that is life.

[Levin] In its school the lessons are often bitter...

[Mironenko] Especially, if the matter concerns social "subjects." And yet the bitter lessons must be learned.

[Levin] It would seem that they have already started to learn them... It would be interesting to know how the CPSU Central Committee is reacting to the fact that the Leninist Komsomol is experiencing a very difficult time?

[Mironenko] They are reacting with an understanding of realities. The CPSU Central Committee is aware that the Komsomol's problems are the refraction by youth of the problems of the entire society. Not all our steps are judged positively; however, we are not experiencing any pressure; we enjoy practically complete freedom in the resolution of problems within the league. It is significant that the Politburo—for the first time in many years—has just entered into direct dialog with students.

[Levin] What was discussed there, if one may ask?

[Mironenko] At the Politburo session a unique mandate was issued for the creation of the most varied student organizations reflecting the entire spectrum of students' aspirations.

[Levin] You accepted the leadership of the Leninist Komsomol more than three years ago. During this time much has changed in the Komsomol. Would you have taken such a step today? Then, after all, it was much simpler.

[Mironenko] Indeed, yes. And even more so now than at that time. Then it was easier, but now it is more interesting.

[Levin] But then the favorable prospects (in the career sense) for workers at the higher echelons of the Komsomol were completely clear, while now...

[Mironenko] There is no point in dissembling; previously the fate of leaders at this echelon was predetermined (and quite advantageously), while now, of course, there is no certainty. And this is a very substantial personal factor for many people. Often I have noted a certain absent-mindedness among Komsomol workers, and that is understandable...

[Levin] Otherwise, this would be hypocrisy.

[Mironenko] True. And I too have asked myself a similar question. After all, I do have an area of specialization—I am an historian, but I have been away from my field for 15 years. It is understandable that I need some time for professional retraining. But I do not see that as a tragedy. And I do not think it will be a tragedy for my family if I am no longer employed as first secretary.

[Levin] Forgive me for asking questions which concern you personally. But, firstly, this is the first interview with the "chief Komsomol member of the Soviet Union" to appear in the pages of our newspaper in very many years; secondly, these questions somehow help to clarify the organization's prospects. And so, you frequently take decisions which concern an enormous number of people. Is this something that comes easily to you, are you used to it?

[Mironenko] It is very difficult. Because you are aware of the scale on which you can err. And because I have a principle which I always try to adhere to, and that is collegiality, whether I am at sessions of the Secretariat or at sessions of the Buro. I try not to take a decision by myself, issuing orders based on my will; instead, I put them forward for discussion and try to convince my colleagues. And that is often very difficult. And if Buro members can rise and specify their personal opinions at Central Committee plenums, then you can imagine what kind of passions boil up in a narrower circle.

[Levin] Perestroika presumes that each of us needs to be restructured in some substantial way. Or does this concern only external facets of your work—your style and communication method?

[Mironenko] Life is changing, society is changing, and that means I need to restructure myself. I acquire new experience: at times I get a chance to glimpse life through the eyes of another person, someone who, let us say, previously sat in his own row at a meeting and silently listened to me. Now he has started to speak out, openly and at full voice. When this takes place, I cannot fail to change. But in some regard I remain myself; I have some internal guard, who helps me not to lose myself.

[Levin] To be honest, I am very frightened by the possibility of mimicry in these conversations about perestroika. You master the "perestroika" vocabulary, adopt the manner now in fashion for interacting with the "masses," and presto, you have been restructured! I have already seen leaders who have quite successfully mastered this technique, if you will excuse me for calling it that... They sometimes even propose radical ideas, but in essence they are only taking care of themselves... And what befalls these very same "masses," does not disturb them.

[Mironenko] God save us from that! We do not need imitation. All evil lies in it. But is that not why all our society wants to cleanse itself? After all, perestroika is a breakthrough to the truth. In everything.

Nazarbayev Discusses Perestroika with Kazakh Youth

90US0480A Alma-Ata KAZAKHASTANSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 90 pp 1-2

[KazTAG dispatch: "Open Dialogue with Youth"]

[Text] First Secretary of the Kazakh CP Central Committee and USSR people's deputy N.A. Nazarbayev has held a meeting with representatives of the young people of the republic's capital at the Alma-Ata Cotton Combine's palace of culture.

Present in the hall were students and pupils from higher educational institutions and secondary specialized study institutions, young workers, activists from various informal organizations, Komsomol workers, and representatives of the creative intelligentsia. Responsible party and soviet workers and the directors of a number of republic ministries, departments, and law enforcement organs also participated in the meeting.

In his address to those assembled, N.A. Nazarbayev said: I the course of today's meeting I would like to touch upon the pressing problems of perestroika in Kazakhstan, to talk a bit about our positions in those complex and ambiguous processes that are taking place within our republic and the country, and to answer questions that interest you.

I will begin with what today is our principle concern. This is, of course, the economy. It is precisely in this area that the main group of problems is concentrated, upon the successful resolution of which the success of perestroika also depends. It is not by accident that the

Second Congress of People's Deputies devoted such intense attention to the economic concept of the government, subjecting it to extremely detailed analysis from various, sometimes diametrically opposed points of view.

Why is it specifically economic questions that have emerged in the forefront today? Are there really few other troubles, for example such as international conflicts which directly threaten the state as a whole, the very lives of people? Or take the increase in crime, which also does not leave anybody indifferent.

A legitimate question arises: How have we reached such a situation in life that, in the fifth year of perestroika, we have been able to find a fundamental solution to our economic problems, to feed, shoe and clothe people, to give them a roof over their heads? I will not hide the fact that many things seemed much more simple in April 1985, when we still were unable to recognize completely the abyss into which the period of stagnation had led us and the global extent of the measures perestroika would require. And only after we had set about changing things did we understand that our socialist home would need a major overhaul, not cosmetic repair. We came up against the harsh necessity of decisively departing from the traditional paths for development of the economy and of society as a whole.

N.A. Nazarbayev spoke in detail about distortions in the republic's economy. The deformed industrial structure that developed over the decades has led to the situation that Kazakhstan has been turned exclusively into a raw material region with extremely undeveloped processing branches. Practically everything needed in people's everyday lives has been imported from outside its borders. One could be reconciled to this, to some degree, this if the prices for raw materials reflected real expenditures of labor. But, so far, this also has not been so. The circumstance that the share of group "B" has steadily declined, both within the country as a whole and within the republic, also cannot but have an influence on people's living standards.

Many, especially young people, perceive the concept "period of stagnation" as being one that has become usual, as an expression that passes without notice. However, it has rather definite economic parameters. Thus, during the period 1975-1985, a process of deterioration took place in the development of the economy and in the social sphere. During the 10th and 11th five-year plans, earned profits fell short by 17-18 percent; productivity of social labor increased a total of 2.5 percent during the 10th Five-Year Plan and by 0.4 percent during the 11th.

Agriculture, in particular, was disrupted and, within it, livestock raising. An irrepressible desire to deliver billions of pounds of grain to the state weaken the fodder base for cattle raising. Compared to 1980, the average milk yield per cow dropped by 100 kilograms while the average weight of large-horned cattle fell by 54 and of sheep by 3 kilograms. During the two five year plans, per

capita meat consumption increased only 2 kilograms and that of milk declined from 270 kilograms to 260.

Shortfalls in capital construction increased. If completed construction fell short by 1.6 billion rubles during the 10th Five-Year Plan, then during the 11th, this figure was already 2.6 million. There was practically no increase in total new housing introduced during the 11th Five-Year Plan as compared with the 10th.

Thus, development of the social sphere has lagged behind increases in the republic's population. The situation has become increasingly acute. And now there are people who do nothing but present demands for additional benefits and base their demagogic criticism on this. But the society which they participated in building is simply unable to satisfy these demands at once. Indeed, it is necessary to create the resources through effective and intensive labor—this is an axiom of any political economy. As a society works, so also does it live. Forgetting this obvious truth, certain people are swallowing the bait of newly appeared populists, of "guardians" of their interests, and are beginning to occupy an openly consumerist position, forgetting to ask themselves: And what have I done for perestroika?

They say to us. Raise our wages, our pensions, give us food products, goods, build housing, improve public health, education. And do this a little more quickly, a little more promptly, and preferably so that it is free of charge. How simple everything is! But just where are the funds going to come from for this if three-fourths of the national income is going for consumption and if this is increasing by a total of one percent every year, which only covers the requirements of the growing population.

Why do they live well in a material sense in the West. Because, for example, the American or the Canadian farmer does the work of five of our kolkhoz workers. The American worker produces as much output in a day as three of ours. And this is not at all a matter of our people being lazy or poorly qualified, but of the fact that neither our lives nor our wages bears a relationship to the final product. With us, the individual is not the owner either of the enterprise or of the land and he is indifferent to "state-owned" property, the condition of which is not reflected in any way in his material level. He doesn't need to milk the cows, he can produce defective television sets or any other products—and he will still receive his minimum wage in rubles. It is no secret that in many scientific research institutes, in construction, and in light industry, raises in wages are given not on the basis of increased production volumes and product quality, but on the basis of artificial inflation of prices.

This means that it is first of all necessary to solve a basic problem of perestroika—to put an end with the discredited practice of the individual's alienation from the means of production and the products of his labor, to ensure that every ruble has to be earned. What specifically is being done for this?

You know that we have actively begun to introduce new forms of administration, of leases, peasant and cooperative economic forms, economic accountability, and, during the last few years, we have succeeded in developing a well-balanced economic concept, which has as its core the progressive principles of the republic's economic independence and self-financing. I will not say that this came easily. There were serious obstacles both on a purely scientific plane and on a political one. Even today, far from everyone in the central organs has a positive attitude toward these urgent actions of ours. But time and perestroika are making themselves felt. As you know, the Second Congress of People's Deputies called upon the USSR Supreme Soviet, within the course of the first quarter of this year, to approve a package of legislative acts that will guarantee the right of the republic, and consequently also of the enterprises and associations situated within its territory, to independent economic management and to dispose of their own resources and natural riches.

Consequently, in the very near future, our concept will be transformed into reality and will begin to produce a noticeable result. Even now, the situation is changing fundamentally. The results of the first four years of the current five-year plan are in many ways favorably distinguished from what was earlier.

In the first place, the average annual growth rate of produced national income amounted to 2.1 percent, as against 0.7 percent for 1981-1984. Industry has developed more rapidly: Production volume for the total of these years exceeded the volume for the first four years of the 11th Five-Year Plan by 22.4 percent. The average annual volume of gross agricultural production grew by 17 percent. This has made it possible to raise the average per capita consumption of meat by 12 kilograms in comparison with 1958, and of milk—by 40 kilograms. As a whole, during the past four years, the production of food products within the republic increased by 36.4 percent.

In the second place, there has been a definite social reorientation of the economy, a turn toward people's urgent needs. While a total of 23.5 million square meters of new housing was introduced during 1981-1984 for the republic as a whole, then in 1986-1989 this figure came to 32.5 million, or an increase of 38 percent. During this same period, the number of general education schools put into operation increased by 45 percent, the number of kindergartens and nurseries by 23 percent, the number of hospitals by 46 percent, and the number of clinics by 62 percent.

However, we are not being deluded by what we have been able to achieve. And this is first of all because people have not sensed perceptible changes. This testifies as well to the depth of the gap which occurred during the period of stagnation, to the scale of the work that faces us. It has turned out that the rates of growth we have achieved are only a small part of what is required in order to create proper living conditions for people. On

the path to this goal lies the difficult process of transition from a command economy to a full-blown market system.

Further, N.A. Nazarbayev sketched out prospects for social and economic growth. We have very extensive ideas, beginning from the active development of various forms of property and extending to the organization of joint enterprises and moving out into foreign markets. I recently visited Canada and the United States and once again became convinced what kind of truly inexhaustible possibilities Kazakhstan possesses for concluding important, mutually profitable contracts with foreign firms. If we ourselves begin to manage our own economy, I am confident that matters will go much more rapidly. And this will have a positive effect on the living standards of the Kazakh people.

Only, we should not think that dumplings will fall into our mouths by themselves, as happened with Gogol's Patsyuk. If we hope to become equal partners with the West, then we also will have to work in a western way. And, as you know, they know how to work there. And what is characteristic, wherever we were, whatever firms we visited, was that everywhere the tone was being set by young, energetic, enterprising people.

For some reason, such a businesslike, youthful foundation is not perceptible here, with us. This too, of course, can be blamed on the times of stagnation and on the infantilism they engendered on the indifference of young men and women toward social affairs. But it is not a matter now of finding the guilty ones, but rather one of correcting the situation.

We have worked out a very serious economic concept, one that is aimed entirely at the future, aimed, one might say, toward a fundamental revolution in our whole way of life. But where are the scientific approaches of young economists? Why have none of them proposed their own conceptual ideas? Does the reason really lie only in a lack of interest? I think that it can also be found in an absence of necessary qualifications.

Or, take scientific and technical progress. Are there many names of young Kazakh scientists that you can cite who in recent years have made an appreciable contribution—to say nothing about an outstanding one—to this cause? The same thing in culture, in education. Every year, we turn out hundreds of teachers, dozens of journalists, historians, economists. But all of them try to set themselves up in Alma-Ata, in the oblast centers, even to the detriment of the specialty they have acquired. And who will begin to raise the culture and economy of the Kazakh countryside where mainly the indigenous population lives? Who will immerse themselves in the real life of the people? For decades our medical institutes have been meticulously supplying detachments of qualified physicians, but when we begin to figure it up it turns out that, in terms of the level of public health, we have lagged behind many of the developing countries. It has reached the point that tiny Lithuania is sending us teams of

physicians. It turns out that we are unable ourselves to cope with unsanitary conditions and epidemics!

So, what is more difficult—in urban, greenhouse conditions, to grieve about the needs of the people, to speak out passionately at meetings in defense of people who are living under the most difficult circumstances, or to work with one's own hands to improve the cultural and material level of people's lives? I think the answer is obvious to everyone. And everyone should make for himself the only possible moral choice, if, of course, the goals of perestroika find an echo within his soul.

It is not only in the economy that a difficult legacy has come down to us from the period of stagnation. Everyone recalls the truly threatening dimensions attained by nepotism, particularly in the sphere of science, how heavy a burden was placed on the morality and psychology of people by the worthless ZhUZ divisions [Zhuzovoye deleniye] that came down to us from the feudal past. Directors of all ranks, right up to the republic level, served the command-bureaucratic system, lived according to its unalterable law of unquestioning subordination to those above. And the system itself valued only obedient implementors. It easily removed those who did not agree from its path. If you want to keep your position, it said, then don't interfere. Let the Aral Sea die, let the language of your people disappear, let the wealth of your land's natural resources be squandered—don't concern yourself, praise the system from every tribune, and you will be listed among the heroes, will receive honors. And so it was. Would anybody really have dared five years ago to raise his voice in favor of the economic sovereignty of the republic, for the right to independently dispose of our own resources, to establish foreign economic ties? Or, let us say, to demand a review of provisions of a hastily passed CPSU Central Committee resolution that insulted the national feelings of the people? Even to think about this was impossible under earlier conditions. And we would not have gotten together with you in this hall for an open discussion.

Today, we are not only thinking but also actively acting in these and many other directions. And it is perestroika that has opened such a possibility to us. It has made it possible to return the good name to a whole constellation of Kazakh writers and poets exterminated by the Stalinists, to rehabilitate hundreds of true sons of the Kazakh people. It has made it possible on a solid democratic basis to set about the fundamental solution of the complex language problems of the peoples populating Kazakhstan.

The favorable winds of perestroika have brought a fundamentally new law on elections, which permits each citizen to exercise his voting right with maximum freedom. Once again, the talented book of Olzhas Suleymenov, "Az and I" has seen the light of day...

On purpose, I have not attempted to construct this series of objects of renewal in accordance with their political and social significance. All of them—both small and

large—are equally dear to us. And each of you, for certain, would be able to continue it.

Right now, the main concern of the party and the people is not to put a brake on perestroika, for any stopping will bring serious social cataclysms and a return to a more severe dictatorship than that which we have lived through. And it is young people, precisely as the most active part of society, upon whose shoulders concern for protecting the processes of renewal must rest, inasmuch as the future belongs to them.

There are still many unsolved problems. Bureaucratism is not giving up but is clinging tightly to its privileges, purposes, and dogmas. I think in this connection that we cannot today avoid giving attention to an urgent problem which is provoking hot arguments and gossip, particularly within student circles. I am talking about assessment of the December 1986 events. The farther away we get from this memorable December, the more starkly the true reasons that prompted people to come out into the square become imprinted in the public consciousness. At the same time, perestroika itself nourishes this process of comprehension. All of us are leaning democratization and glasnost, and these lessons do not go in vain. Can we today, as earlier, unambiguously consider that December 1986 was the handiwork of hooliganistic nationalism? I think not. And there are weighty reasons for this.

In the first place, it is extremely clear that, in its essence, the demonstration bore an exclusively peaceful character. In no event was it directed against other peoples populating Kazakhstan, and certainly not against the Russian people to whom we are tied by a centuries-long tradition of true friendship and brotherhood.

In the second place, the young people were openly and honestly expressing what lay as a heavy burden on the souls of many of the republic's communists following the 5th plenum of the Kazakh CP Central Committee. Is it possible, in general, to speak of any kind of "work of the plenum" at all if it lasted for precisely 18 minutes and ended with a silent raising of hands in favor of a single list of nominated candidates selected by the apparatus and submitted to a vote in the worst traditions of stagnation?

Thirdly, concerning the reasons which provoked the December events. Of course, it is easiest of all to accuse people of nationalistic deviation and thereby to conceal the problem. But will this correspond to the truth? It is now no secret to anyone that a heating up of the situation was facilitated to a decisive degree by an entire complex of social problems that have remained unresolved during the years of stagnation. Difficulties with regard to food supplies, housing, and inexpensive consumer goods in the first instance impact upon the poorly provided-for stratum of the population, within which the students occupy far from the best position. Moreover, let us recall that precisely on the eve of the December events a campaign was launched against so-called "non-labor

incomes," which encouraged many home-owners who had earlier rented corners and rooms to students to refuse them this and that almost 3000 students had found themselves without roofs over their heads.

In most cases, the appearance of young people on the square was a natural offshoot of a revived national self-consciousness. And therefore the search for an "underground nationalistic organization" or for a specific organizer of the events has turned out to be unavailing.

There were also other reasons which sharply offended the national feelings of representatives of the young intelligentsia. I have in mind the "percentage mania" which had begun to take hold in determining the national composition of the student body and with which some directors were becoming engaged with particular fervor, at the same time not without the approval of the high ideological chiefs of republic rank who were then on the job. Incidentally, the results of these purely formal calculations, which were conducted without taking into account the objective political, national, social, and ethical and moral conditions of life as it has developed within the republic, were very much to the liking of the members of the commission, which was headed by former of the CPSU Central Committee Buro M.S. Solomentsev. They took these data literally, as a gift, as irrefutable evidence that a supposed notorious "Kazakh nationalism" really existed.

And how much copy was made surrounding the kindergarten that opened in Alma-Ata with Kazakh as its language of instruction. A completely normal, an even routine event by today's standards, was presented as an attack on internationalism, as an almost fatal blow to the friendship of peoples. If the children had only known how much discomfort they were causing grown-ups, their uncles who embodied party and state wisdom!

At the same time, for decades, none of the party and government leaders had become excited about the steady decline in the number of Kazakh schools within the republic or by the alarming fact that the Kazakh language was being reduced to a purely everyday, second-rate, and even third-rate level. I lay the blame for this at the feet not so much of the central leadership as of that of the republic, which, although in authority, did practically nothing to develop the culture and unique character of its own people.

Can we condemn the impetuosity of the young people who went out into the square in order also to express decisively their disagreement with these intellectual distortions that have come to us as legacy of the years of stagnation?

And now, specifically concerning how the events on the square developed. Surely the question has occurred to everyone: Would it have been possible to prevent the sad consequences. Evidently yes, if we had at that time the experience we have today in democratization and glasnost, if we had possessed sufficient standards in the

expression of our feelings, ones which would have excluded the very possibility of extremism. This was convincingly demonstrated by the no less and possibly even more tense days of the Karaganda miners' strike, when, despite extreme sharpness of the situation, we succeeded through common efforts in setting up a constructive dialogue, in recognizing points where diametrically opposing positions converged, and in finding wise compromises.

In December 1986 this did not occur. Then, a firm, accustomed image dominated the consciousness of both sides—one, drummed into us over the years by that same command system, of an enemy who necessarily had to be struck down. Besides this, it is necessary also to understand the concrete situation of the moment. And it was not one of the best. Judge for yourselves:

The first director had been in the republic only since the day before, he didn't know anybody here, still had not familiarized himself with the situation, and on the square in front of the Central Committee building the strongest kind of provocation was occurring—a crowd the mood and slogans of which were by no means favorable to him. And at his side he had advisors from Moscow who were accustomed to operate exclusively by command-administrative methods. They tried to completely exclude local party and soviet leaders from control of the situation, making decisions within a small group, literally behind closed doors.

Recall the ideological squall that was raised in order to justify each line of the resolution passed by CPSU Central Committee regarding the Kazakh SSR party organization. The matter reached the point of paradox. Certain zealous party executives seriously intended to retrain born shepherds into miners or metallurgists so as to urgently "correct" distortions in the ethnic make-up of the republic's working class. They began to carefully calculate how many people of slavic nationalities had left the boundaries of the republic and to explain each such departure exclusively as a result of "intrigues by the nationalists." And they were leaving mainly from oblasts where the Russian-speaking population predominates, that is, from places where no reasons of a national character could possibly arise. However, even this fact did not discourage any of the organizers of this ideological campaign.

It has been long known that to look for a black cat in a dark room, especially when it is not there, is a thankless occupation. But, as applied to the given case, it is also by no means an innocent one. It can be said with full certainty today that all this ideological racket has only exacerbated interethnic relations, that it has forced people who have lived for long years in normal, good-neighborly circumstances to regard one another with caution and with apprehension—and are you not a nationalist, are you not a chauvinist? And when two young boys come to blows, the first thing they do is determine what nationality they are. As if there had not been Balkhash and Kazaka Magnitka, Dzhezkazgan and

Turksib, the virgin lands and Baykonur—and dozens and hundreds of other material proofs of our true friendship. As if there had not been the enormously rich intellectual unity of our peoples, tied to the great names of Abay and Pushkin. Dostoyevskiy and Valikhanov, Zhumbayhev and Gorkiy, Auzzov and Sobolev, Kastayev and Khludov, Musrepov and Brusilovskiy.

All this, of course, has existed and will exist and, certainly, no apparatus has the power to cancel out that which has entered the very blood of peoples, which has become their spiritual and moral essence. Recall from what lofty moral, truly internationalist, positions Dmitriy Snegin and Ivan Shchegolikhin, Gerold Belger and Aleksandr Garkavets, and many other writers and scholars as well as representatives of the most varied nationalities have spoken out in defense of the Kazakh language! I am deeply convinced that internationalism occupies an equal place among those moral values which our peoples will never surrender under any circumstances. And a low bow to the representatives of the Russian people who were the first to raise their voices against the label of "Kazakh nationalism."

However, it is also indisputable that parasitical offshoots of open hooliganism and unruliness have succeeded in taking root very quickly, practically at overwhelming rates, in the soil of the just indignation by young people regarding cases when the democratic norms proclaimed by the party have been flouted.

Let us not close our eyes to the obvious. Members of the government were still standing on the tribune trying to find a common language with those gathered in the square and militia detachments still had not undertaken any sort of action to ensure public order while stones were already flying at them. There still was no talk of using force, and "first aid" vehicles had already begun to transport wounded militiamen to civilian and military hospitals. It is also possible to cite certain figures related to material damages inflicted during those days: 10 automobiles were burned and 152 were damaged and 13 student dormitories, 5 study buildings, 6 trade and public catering enterprises, and 4 administrative buildings suffered various kinds of destruction. The total loss resulting from the pogroms and destruction amounted to 302,640 rubles. These are facts. There is no way to get away from them.

There are now many who make judgments with regard to the actions of law enforcement organs during those days: Was the use of force rightful? Let us then also ask ourselves other questions: And what would have happened if the law enforcement organs had not put a stop to people's spontaneous actions? Certainly nobody will be so bold as to assert that the situation could not have become uncontrollable, that it could not have been used by extremists, that casualties would not have been considerably higher, and that the disorders would not have encompassed the entire city and then even the republic. This could have happened and, incidentally, began to

happen when the organizers of the peaceful demonstration lost control over the aroused crowd and the initiative began to go over into the hands of hooligans and extremists. In the final account, the law enforcement organs carried out their principle duty—they ensured order within a city that has a population of a million and they did not permit events to develop widely and deeply.

As time has gone by, many are trying to become prophets, declaring that it would have been possible during those tense days to find other, more humane ways out of the conflict. All of us are strong in "hindsight," as they say. During those days, however, neither one side nor the other had experience in constructive dialogue and both acted on the basis of the stereotypes from the years of stagnation. The result—some armed themselves with prohibitions and peremptory shouts, others seized upon rocks and sticks.

Yes, in December 1986, the people wanted to talk with the popular authorities about their rights and problems. This dialogue did not take place then. Today, guided by new democratic thinking, it is necessary to understand that the drama of the situation was provoked not by the cruelty of specific persons, but by the objective opposition of the administrative system to the people, by our general lack of preparedness for a dialogue, by our general inability to meet halfway with one another at that time, to achieve an organic unity between the people and the authorities. It is specifically in this that both the reason and the dialectic of the December events lie.

Perestroika teaches all of us political wisdom, democracy, instills in us the ability to understand correctly events that are past and are occurring. I think that nobody will deny that new mutual relationships between the authorities and the people are being developed within the republic, ones based on mutual understanding and a unity of aspirations and goals. So, let us safeguard this unity and strengthen it, inasmuch as only in it is there a guarantee that we will not repeat past mistakes, a guarantee that we will truly achieve popular goals.

However, there are people, and this needs to be said with all definiteness, who aspire to distort the true picture of events, who are continuing to exploit mass meeting approaches that promise them quick popularity. Suspiciously loudly and clearly calculating on the stage effect, they are demanding punitive measures against specific individuals, are seeking out betrayers of national interests, bearers of evil, and other guilty persons. What is this, if it is not the same outmoded, totally compromised authoritarian approaches of yesterday? Is it really permissible, while proclaiming themselves in words to be the defenders of the people, the right flank of perestroika, they are trying by their deeds to inculcate in the popular consciousness the punitive psychology of "an eye for an eye", to demand removal, exclusion, dismissal, i.e. repression, and moreover without appropriate trial? We have already had this in our history, and the wounds that were inflicted are still making themselves felt to the present day.

And who will think about all the inhabitants of multi-ethnic Kazakhstan, the economy and culture of which are being created by the labor of all peoples? Whom will we become if we begin to defend the interests only of the 39 percent that represents the indigenous population of Kazakhstan, and forget about the national feelings of the remaining 61 percent? The same thing can be said as well about the population of our capital. In a word, I am deeply convinced that effective solution of the most vital questions of Kazakhstan and the Kazakh people is possible only in unity, in friendship with other peoples, while caring about the interests of all the inhabitants of the republic and while not infringing upon anyone on an ethnic basis.

Why are we literally being "churned up" again by the December events? Do young people really have so few problems—economic, social, and political ones? We face enormous work in connection with the democratic restructuring of life in the republic.

It is completely obvious that the culture medium for the pseudo seekers of truth is alienation, cliquishness, playing one side off against one another, confusing public opinion with rumors and dismal prospects. And the most disgusting thing is that the people, about whom the populists so often and eloquently speak, are for them only a secondary material, only a means for achieving their personal, selfish goals and for satisfying their own ambitions.

Besides this, I want to say very definitely that, for the sake of calm, for the sake of a normal, secure life for the Kazakh people, the authorities should within the framework of the law take measures against those who infringe upon this calm and security, who think that under conditions of democracy they are permitted to do everything. Nothing of the sort! What is permitted is only that is not prohibited by the law, that which does not contradict the internationalist convictions that exist within our republic.

The Kazakh CP Central Committee stands and will continue to stand firmly on the platform of internationalism. The many examples of our concrete activities in various spheres of social and party life can serve as evidence of this. This is also passage of the law on languages, and the elections to the soviets, and the solution of cadre questions—everywhere, in every matter large and small, we are considering, with all responsibility, the multi-ethnic character of the republic's population.

I want to see this approach become the immutable rule in the activities of any public organization, including the informal organization. Indeed, how is true internationalism substantiated? Only by relationships to another peoples, to their needs and desires. And no references to national self-consciousness can help to camouflage the true aims of one or another movement if the means for achieving them turns out to be flouting the rights and interests of another peoples.

Together with this, I vote with both hands for a full, precise, and clear investigation of all questions connected with the December events. You know that many distortions concerning persons who took part in them have been removed: At the given time, of 82 persons sentenced to confinement, more than 70 were freed and of 228 students expelled from institutions of higher learning and technical schools, 173 have been reinstated. There are also other figures; they need to be carefully checked.

However, questions remain, many of them posed by the republic's public and informal organizations. Several days ago I met with representatives of these organizations and we had a rather long, constructive talk. And I must say, we came to a single view.

In particular, the Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro completely shares their position with regard to the undeserved and insulting condemnation of the Kazakh people for nationalism which found voice in the well-known CPSU Central Committee resolution. You know about this, but I will repeat it again: Both the CP Central Committee and the republic Supreme Soviet turned to the CPSU Central Committee with an insistent request that it reexamine this and certain other positions of the resolution. Our voice was not only heard but was also supported by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, which will include this question in the agenda for its meeting.

We are in favor of establishing an independent commission under the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and to include within it representatives of the public and informal organizations. Moreover, there is an agreement with the leaders of the USSR Procuracy that it will assign an independent procurator to work in this commission, one who will be free from any kind of pressure in his activities.

We are in favor of once again returning literally to every court case prompted by one or another person's participation in the December events. It is necessary once again, now from the positions of democracy that have been won, to assess the degree of punishment of each and, if this guilt does not correspond to the ideas of citizens' rights under perestroika, then to fully rehabilitate them, to remove from them the shameful label of having been convicted. Of course, this does not concern those who committed felony crimes.

We are in favor of meeting the democratic desire of the citizens of Alma-Ata and of assigning within the central part of the city a permanent place for meetings and gatherings. I think that this will correspond to the present-day level of public consciousness and will contribute to broader politicization of the masses. But I want to stress once again that everything must be carried out within the framework of existing legislation. There can be no ambiguity of interpretation in this question. The organizers of meetings and gatherings are obliged to answer for public order.

Democratization—this is an enormous and incomparable good. But at the same time, this is an enormous and incomparable responsibility. It is not for nothing that they say that the people most of all fear two evils— anarchy and despotism. And so, democracy lies precisely in the middle between these two extremes. In order not to slip toward either of them, and now, when our democracy is taking its first and not entirely confident steps, this can very easily happen; what is particularly needed are well-regulated and well-considered actions, founded on responsibility and discipline.

The ideal of a strong policy is not violence and confrontation, but agreement and solidarity. And if this is so, let us together defend and protect them. First of all—by concrete, interested, and disciplined labor for the good of society and perestroika.

Let us argue openly, defend our own positions in argument. But at the same time let us listen attentively to the conclusions of our opponents and respect the opinions of others. Only in such a case will pluralism bear fruit and provide an opportunity to develop a unified platform which takes into account both common interests and the aspirations of society's various social levels.

Closing his address, N.A. Nazarbayev urged upon those present high standards of discussion, calm and considered, that is, in the full sense of the word, civilized debate. And although the maximalism characteristic of young people is an objectively inherent feature of them, he noted that it is always necessary to try to understand the concerns of one another and the motives which determine our actions in specific political, social, economic, legal and other situations.

Then, participants in the meeting had their say. Eighteen of them took the podium. Basically supporting the thoughts and conclusions of the Kazakh CP Central Committee first secretary, they at the same time made many proposals of their own, aimed toward the urgent solution of pressing social and everyday problems in the lives of young workers, students and pupils, at creating for them the necessary conditions for work, study, leisure time activities, and health care, and at improving interethnic relations.

In conclusion, N.A. Nazarbayev answered a large number of questions, sometimes very sharp and some considered embarrassing.

The meeting, which lasted six hours, once again demonstrated the importance of integration, of rational utilization of everything positive that exists within the social movements of the republic's young people. And this fully corresponds to the course of the party toward consolidation of the most varied forces in the name of the good of the Soviet people.

Tbilisi University Declares Autonomy

90US0626B *Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian*
11 Feb 90 p 3

[Gruzinform article: "University's Autonomy"]

[Text] **Tbilisi State University imeni Ivane Dzhavakhishvili has become an independent scientific-educational institution. This is mentioned in a declaration that was read at an expanded solemn session of the academic council that was devoted to the autonomy of TGU [Tbilisi State University].**

Under conditions of the totalitarian state, this forge of the Georgian intelligentsia suffered all the distortions and metamorphoses that were typical of society as a whole. The forcible ideologization, the imposition of mandatory actions, the gap between theory and practice, the poorly thought-out planning, and the reportability, which, for some strange reason, intertwined with irresponsibility—the "alma mater" has now been freed of all of this. This step is all the more important today, when Georgia is setting as a goal its becoming an independent, democratic state.

"Today," we read in the declaration, "on the day of memory devoted to David Agmashenebli and the 72nd anniversary of the university's founding, the university declares itself to be autonomous. As a center of national morality and self-awareness, it must serve not only to train scientists and specialists, but also to educate humane, free-thinking individuals. This gives it the following rights: to change the structure; to hold elections and confirm the administrators; to introduce new specialties and abolish old ones; to bestow scientific-instructor titles and degrees; to carry out its own personnel and socioeconomic policy in conformity with the existing laws; and certain others."

According to the declaration, the university also assumes a number of other obligations. The chief one is the educating of an enlightened, thinking generation, who are worthy specialists and citizens of their country."

Uzbek Government 'First' To Provide Free Meals for Schoolchildren

90US0557A *Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian*
9 Jan 90 p 1

[Interview with S.G. Makhnenko, first deputy minister, Uzbek SSR Ministry of Public Education, by L. Orlova, PRAVDA VOSTOKA correspondent: "Lunch During the Long, Midday Break: The Platform of the Uzbek CP Is for Social Benefits"]

[Text] **Beginning with the first day of school after the winter holidays, all the younger schoolchildren of this republic enrolled in Grades 1-3 will receive free lunches.**

At the request of our correspondent, this event is commented upon below by S.G. Makhnenko, first deputy minister, Uzbek SSR Ministry of Public Education:

[S.G. Makhnenko] Our schoolchildren's "workday" sometimes turns out to be quite long. And all-too-frequently they come to their classes without having eaten any breakfast.

Medical studies conducted in various regions of our republic, primarily in rural areas, have revealed symptoms of protein malnutrition in a number of instances. Need we say how important a fully balanced and nutritious diet is for the health of the young, growing generation? Therefore, this republic's government has adopted a special program. More than 64 million rubles a year have been earmarked from the republic-level budget for free lunches for pupils in all schools—from those of the capital to those in rural villages.

Let me emphasize that Uzbekistan is the first republic in the Soviet Union which is doing this on such a scale.

[Correspondent] Haven't the government's good intentions come up against the difficulties of implementing such a program? After all, a number of schools, particularly the rural ones, have neither cafeterias nor snack-bars.

[S.G. Makhnenko] In places which lack cafeterias we will be handing out the lunches directly in the classrooms, and as bases we will be using the food-service units and kitchens of the nearest hospitals, kindergartens, vocational-technical schools, or, if worse comes to worst, in brigade-type field-camps.

[Correspondent] Lunches can hardly be eaten in a classroom during a period of 5-10 minutes. Moreover, in most school cafeterias the children are fed in 3-4 shifts.

[S.G. Makhnenko] We have suggested that the schools themselves extend the break period up to half an hour if necessary. We have tried to prevent stoppages in the delivery of foodstuffs, we have specified the suppliers, allocated resources with a reserve supply, and provided for the creation of "NZ's" [not further defined] in case it is difficult to furnish a lunch (for example, during wintertime to a remote, mountain school). For this purpose, canned goods, dried milk, sugar, and baked items have been set aside.

[Correspondent] But what if a child has fallen ill or refuses to eat?

[S.G. Makhnenko] The money set aside for his share will remain at the school's disposal. It is accumulated and can be used to improve the food being served to the remaining pupils. This is also the case, moreover, with additional funds allotted for this purpose by a kolkhoz, sovkhoz, or sponsoring enterprise.

We understand that this program, like everything else that is new, will not proceed smoothly right away. We expect a great deal of help in this matter from the school councils which are being set up. I hope that this important social program will be continually monitored likewise by the deputies of the local soviets.

Belorussian Minister of Health Criticized

90UN1275A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 20 Feb 90 p 3

[Open letter to V.S. Ulashchik, Belorussian SSR minister of health, by V.S. Soldatov, vice president of the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences and academician of the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences, and A. V. Stepanenko, vice president of the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences, academician of the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences, and USSR people's deputy: "Whom Do You Serve, Comrade Minister?"]

[Text] **Open Letter to V.S. Ulashchik, Belorussian SSR minister of health.**

Dear Minister of Health V.S. Ulashchik. Four years have passed since the accident at the Chernobyl Atomic Electric Power Plant, and today any practicing physician will tell you that the number of virtually all diseases in the republic has risen sharply since 1986. You continue to maintain, with a persistence worthy of a better cause, that "...according to available information and also data of world scientific literature and experience, the recorded levels of radiation in a number of rayons of Gomel and Mogilev oblasts cannot affect a person's health."

About what information and what experience are you talking, if the Chernobyl accident is unique and world literature maintains that there are no safe levels of radiation? You and your colleagues from the USSR Ministry of Health have measured off a "safe dose" of 35 roentgen equivalents for the population and continue to defend it.

We are always astonished by the divergence of your opinion with that of practitioners. Who best knows the situation in reality: a physician or a minister? Experts speak with one voice about the massive decrease in the population's immunity and, as a consequence of this, the increase in cancers, chronic diseases, disabilities, and also mutational deformities, but the statistics of your department do not reflect this increase. Why, then, does even (!) the USSR deputy minister of health, A.I. Kondrusev, admit this fact?

Your position justifies the inactivity in neutralizing the effects of the accident at the Chernobyl Atomic Electric Power Plant and, in the final analysis, bestows a doubtful benefit on our people.

Who, if not the minister, can and must protect the health of the Belorussian people? How do you plan to serve the people as a people's deputy?

Belorussian Health Minister's Refutation

90UN1296A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 23 Feb 90 p 3

[Article by V.S. Ulashchik, minister of health of the Belorussian SSR, professor, and deputy of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet: "Cooperate, Don't Accuse"]

[Text] [Response to open letter from V.S. Soldatov and A.V. Stepanenko, academicians of the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences]

The triumphal procession of glasnost and democracy has unfortunately also given rise to shameless juggling of the facts and distortion of the truth. According to L.N. Tolstoy, "the degree of a person's truthfulness is an indicator of the degree of his moral perfection." Diderot maintained: "Candor is the mother of truth and the sign of an honest person." These thoughts automatically come to mind when you read the letter addressed to me from academicians of the Belorussian Academy of Sciences V.S. Soldatov and A.V. Stepanenko, "Whom Do You Serve, Comrade Minister?"

Facts are the breath of life of the scientist. Obviously, we should also turn to them in the polemics.

Fact One. The statement ascribed to me that "...the recorded radiation levels in a number of rayons of Gomel and Mogilev oblasts cannot affect a person's health" cannot be called anything but a flagrant juggling of the facts.

First of all, I did not make this statement, and the authors cannot prove otherwise. Secondly, what kind of information can you get in general from words taken out of context? Especially when you are dealing with such a complex problem as the effect of radiation on people's health. Experts would never take such liberties.

Fact Two. My connection with the "safe dose" of 35 roentgen equivalents is also totally distorted in the letter. Neither I nor the Ministry of Health of the Belorussian SSR had anything to do with the "emergence" of this. Furthermore, the USSR Ministry of Health also does not consider 35 roentgen equivalents to be a safe dose, but the limit for making the decision on moving the population. I added my objections concerning its safety together with the scientists of the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences. Has Aleksandr Vasilyevich [Stepanenko] really forgotten this?

Briefly, I would express my personal attitude toward the problem of the population residing on territory contaminated by radionuclides in the following manner.

1. Residing on territory contaminated by radionuclides is not absolutely safe for the health of today's and future generations, which requires reducing the radiation doses of people to the maximum extent primarily by moving them.

2. The following should be criteria for moving people: a predicted reaching of the established limit of individual radiation dose in one's lifetime; the impossibility of obtaining food products with pre-accident levels of radioactive contamination and ensuring traditional living conditions; the desire of citizens of the monitored rayons to move to a new place of residence; social and economic unsuitability of creating normal living conditions in the contaminated territories. The authors of the

letter are also familiar with these views—I expressed them at a meeting with USSR people's deputies.

Incidentally, these thoughts were also at the basis of the concepts of people residing on territories contaminated with radionuclides, which the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers submitted to its Commission on Emergency Situations. As you can see, the difference between what I support and what the respected scientists ascribe to me is obvious.

Fact Three. With "a persistence worthy of a better cause," the authors are trying to convince the population that the opinion of the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Health differs with the opinion of practitioners and experts. Is this actually the case?

In my addresses and publications I use official information of the Belorussian SSR State Committee for Statistics and data on the illness rate received based on the registration of the population seeking treatment from physicians. Therefore, in my factual data there are not and cannot be any differences with practical physicians. Emotions, interpretation, or special cases—that is another matter.

The assertion that I deny the increase of individual diseases among the population residing on the territories subjected to radioactive contamination as a result of the accident at the Chernobyl Atomic Electric Power Plant also does not correspond to the truth.

You can take the text of any of my speeches and be convinced of this. You yourselves know this very well.

I have spoken at the USSR Supreme Soviet, at a session of the Presidium of the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences, at meetings with representatives of the mass media and the population, and at sessions of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) about the unfavorable psychological and emotional situation and the increase in such diseases as anemia, ischemic heart disease, hypertension, goiter, hypothyroidism, autoimmune thyroiditis, and others. In so doing, I did not simply state the fact that the health of the population was deteriorating following the Chernobyl accident, but also requested assistance for Belorussia as a zone of radioecological trouble, including international assistance. And the republic is receiving it today, including through the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Health. The Ministry of Health is receiving medicines, food for the children, and equipment from Austria, Cuba, the United States, Bulgaria, and other countries. Some of the equipment I acquired for travel allowances and honoraria due me. In the immediate future, an international group of experts will be working in the republic. I helped set up their schedule during a business trip to Austria. Incidentally, the Novosti Press Agency provided information about all of this, and services of the IAEA disseminated an official report.

I do not understand on the basis of what facts the authors talk about the inactivity in neutralizing the consequences

of the accident at the Chernobyl Atomic Electrical Power Plant. This insults the feelings and dignity of those, including physicians, who day after day, ignoring time and personal interests, are doing everything they can to reduce as much as possible the negative effects of the Chernobyl accident on people. The scale of this work is enormous. Of course, due to various circumstances, we have been unable to do as much as we would have like to do. But, you see, the Ministry of Health also is not receiving proper assistance from the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences. And we are in dire need of assistance. We need to cooperate and find a mutual understanding for the sake of resolving the complex problems of Chernobyl as quickly as possible.

I believe that for prominent scientists, and I consider V.S. Soldatov and A.V. Stepanenko to be just that, the main thing is devotion to the truth and a respectful attitude toward the facts, even if the debate is being conducted at the height of the election campaign.

Pope on Church's Role in Promoting Nationalities 'Dialogue'

90UN0881A Moscow TRUD in Russian 6 Feb 90 p 3

[Interview with Pope John Paul II by TRUD Special Correspondent P. Negoitsa: "With the Pope to Africa"; 5 February 90]

[Text] Rome—Cape Verde Islands, 5 February—As already reported, for the first time a Soviet journalist was among a group of foreign journalists aboard the papal aircraft, and accompanied the head of the Roman Catholic Church John Paul II on his trip to Africa.

The preparation procedure required of journalists who desire to fly with the Pope was not all that hard: one must fill out a special form, draw up a written request, make a photocopy of one's passport and submit 12 personal photographs. They also asked me to familiarize myself with the rules, ahead of time: you may depart from Rome and return—only aboard the papal aircraft; you must follow the program of the visit; you must stay only in assigned hotels; you must pay the expenses of the trip, including airfare for the entire journey; and you must observe precautionary measures with your baggage. But above all—you must be accredited to the Vatican.

Competition among the journalists turned out to be fierce. Out of the 300-odd accredited journalists, fewer than 50 people flew this time—including the TRUD correspondent.

On his 45th foreign journey, John Paul II did not change his customary procedure and came into the salon to the journalists while the aircraft was somewhere over the coast of Algeria. At an altitude of 10,000 meters the head of the Roman Catholic Church conducted the first press-conference, and the only one for the duration of the visit.

"This time," said John Paul II, "We are flying to the poorest countries in the world, located in the zone of the Sahara Desert; to people who are poor in an economic, material and moral sense..."

As soon as the Pope finished speaking, questions came thick and fast. Hands were raised, one after the other. I got lucky.

"Your Holiness," as I addressed John Paul II, "at a time when there are, unfortunately, tensions in certain regions of the Soviet Union, what words would you offer to the people of the USSR?"

"The mission of the Church," replied the Pope, "is to preserve and protect the peace; to defend peaceful solutions, even when tension might be justified; to defend dialogue, in order to arrive at a solution to the problems which led to the tensions. This, if one is speaking in general terms, while not touching upon separate, concrete events."

[Negoitsa] "What role, in your opinion, could the Christian Church play in a dialogue among the peoples of the Soviet Union?"

[John Paul II] "I believe that Christians, and not only Slavs but also other nations from Asia and from other regions of the Soviet Union, are concerned about preserving the peace, and the search for peaceful forms of resolving tensions. They are seeking a means of influencing the parties who are in such a state of tension, which at times has led to the spilling of blood. The Soviet Union, from a religious point of view, is a pluralistic country and, one might say, a very complex one. By reasons of ethnic differences, the nations gravitate toward different cultures and religious traditions. A significant portion of Soviet people are Muslims; they say there are 70 million in the Soviet Union. The painful events between Azerbaijan and Armenia affect not only the Soviet Union as a whole, but also the peoples who live there. We are striving to take part in the solution of the problems cited, mainly by means of prayer. I do not believe I would violate a secret if I said today that my recent interlocutor (M.S. Gorbachev) was very pleased with the prayers of the Pope. He said that prayer is a symbol of the spiritual order, and spiritual values which we need very badly."

One of my foreign colleagues asked the Pope, what exactly he would wish for Gorbachev at the present time.

"If I may revert to religious terminology, I would wish that God would grant him enlightenment [ozarenie]," replied John Paul II.

Almost all the journalists considered these words of the Pope an expression of personal participation in the fate of perestroyka, and the interest of the head of the Vatican in its success.

Following this, the Pope joked with the journalists for awhile, but declined to answer any more questions: "Do not work too hard; a week's worth of work lies ahead..."

Many, nevertheless, did not heed the Pope's advice; they were already sitting at their portable computers and were composing their first stories, aboard the papal aircraft.

It seems that we had overflown the Canary Islands, and there was still about two hours of flying before the Cape Verde Islands; however, my thoughts were already there. The Pope's first speech, which he planned to deliver at the airport on Sal Island, was distributed to the journalists.

"The Church," he stated in his speech, "cannot withdraw from everything that is human. On the other hand, it does not pretend to direct temporal affairs... It does not offer a political, economic or social model or a 'third path' between the existing systems. The Church is concerned about a person's development. In a world in which all nations are interdependent, solidarity is all the more needed. It becomes an ethical imperative."

The Pope wished the citizens of the Cape Verde Islands just that kind of development—in the direction of solidarity, which would lead to brotherhood, based on fundamental human rights and liberties...

Council for Religious Affairs Chairman Interviewed

90UN0842A Moscow *NAUKA I RELIGIYA* in Russian No 1, Jan 90 pp 2-3

[Interview with Yu. N. Khristoradnov: "There Will Be No Return To Past Approaches"]

[Text] We know that a new Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers' Council for Religious Affairs has been appointed—Yuriy Nikolayevich Khristoradnov. I would like to find out a little more about the new chairman: his age, education, family status, previous work, and attitude toward the draft law "On Freedom Of Conscience and Religious Organizations."

V. V. Melikhov, journal reader and believer.

After receiving several similar letters, the editors asked Yu. N. Khristoradnov to answer the questions they pose.

[NAUKA I RELIGIYA] Yuriy Nikolayevich, you have assumed the council's leadership at what is probably the most intense and critical time for it. The wave of renewal has also swept the sphere of state-church relations, smashing the encrustations of the stagnant years, which greatly distorted the Leninist principles of freedom of conscience. On this wave, it would seem that the Council's status should be raised to that of key government agencies. Yet calls are being heard for the Council's liquidation as a vestige of the command-administrative system.

[Khristoradnov] Various voices are being heard today. And if you put your ear to them, you hear not a polyphony but a outright cacophony. Some are indeed calling for the Council's liquidation; others, on the contrary, deem it necessary to enhance the Council's

status. I personally am convinced that the Council is necessary. Perhaps a Council with substantial changes in its structure and functions, but a Council nonetheless. First, much remains to be done to overcome the stereotypes of past years, stereotypes that taken root not only during the stagnation period but also the prestagnation period—the years of the personality cult, and also the late 1950s and early 1960s. Second, we need to complete a difficult task—the drafting of the new law on freedom of conscience and religious organizations. Third, I am absolutely convinced that even after the new law is enacted, life will give rise to a good many clashes and conflicts whose resolution will require a corresponding government agency.

[NAUKA I RELIGIYA] How might the Council's functions change?

[Khristoradnov] First and foremost, in the direction of expanded rights for union republics, local Soviets of People's Deputies, and religious organizations.

[NAUKA I RELIGIYA] You have touched on a "sensitive" question for our readers—the drafting of the new law. What can we expect from it, and why is its adoption being constantly postponed?

[Khristoradnov] You yourself see the intensity and depth of the work of the country's supreme legislative body—the Supreme Soviet. We too want the submitted draft law to be enacted as soon as possible, if only in the initial wording, and presented for nationwide discussion. But until legislative acts are adopted on key, fundamental problems of our society's development that deal with the urgent needs of all citizens—believers and nonbelievers alike—we'll have to wait. At the same time, efforts continue to refine the draft on the basis of all criticisms and proposals that are being received, as well as on the basis of international documents we have signed, including the Final Document of the Vienna meeting.

What will the new law be like? It's too early to discuss this. I can only say that the submitted draft substantially broadens the the church and religious organizations' sphere of participation in the affairs of society, in particular charitable activities. A proposal has been advanced for granting the church the right of juridical person, and equality is being proclaimed for believers and clergymen in all spheres of economic, political, social, and cultural life.

[NAUKA I RELIGIYA] Does that mean that the new draft provides a solution to the question of social and legal safeguards for clergymen—in particular for rural parish priests, a subject our journal has written about on several occasions?

[Khristoradnov] We would like to solve this problem. After all, today the maximum church pension (no more than 70 rubles), for example, barely reaches the minimum state threshold.

[NAUKA I RELIGIYA] Readers ask whether the church hasn't been prevented from participating in work on the new law.

[Khristoradnov] Of course not. The positions of the leadership of virtually all the country's religions are being taken into consideration, as are the wishes that ordinary believers have expressed in letters to the Council, the editors of central newspapers, and legislative bodies. For example, we know that the draft law has been discussed twice at sessions of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church.

[NAUKA I RELIGIYA] While the new law is being prepared, hasn't there been an imperceptible return to the previous practice of administrative pressure on the church and believers? And generally speaking, what sort of guarantees do you see against such relapses?

[Khristoradnov] Your readers' concern is understandable. We have become accustomed to the staging of various campaigns. And the sphere of state-church relations is no exception. Moreover, these relations have often taken on an especially dramatic character, as in the second half of the 1920s and especially in the 1930s, when religious organizations were branded "agents" and "accomplices" of fascism. The thaw that began in 1943 was short-lived. In the late 1950s, the church was again hit with a barrage of administrative bans having to do with the program for building communism by 1980. All this sad experience could not but leave an imprint on people's social memory.

Today, however, the policy of reestablishing Leninist principles of freedom of conscience is unwavering. Judge for yourselves: In 1988 alone, the total number of registrations of congregations of all religions in the USSR as a whole was 10 times the number, for example, in 1984, and the figure for 1989 was triple that for 1988. Before 1983, there were 19 monasteries (seven of them for men) in our country; today there are already 31. The Russian Orthodox Church has decided to open four new

seminaries; three of them—in Kiev, Tyumen, and Zhirovitsy—are already operating. Or take petitions from believers considered by local authorities. In 1988, their number increased by 100 percent in the Russian Federation, by 600 percent in the Ukraine, by almost 700 percent in Belorussia, and by 1600 percent in Moldavia.

This doesn't mean that all the problems have been solved. Many administrative officials still have strong prejudices against religious organizations and believers; some have an almost morbid reaction to the opening of new prayer buildings. Bureaucratism and red-tape persist in the registration of religious congregations, and when conflicts arise at the local level, some people are not above ascribing their own mistakes to Moscow, presenting them as an encroachment on national interests on the part of the center.

At this time of stormy national revival and intensified interethnic conflicts, all these things require the greatest sensitivity toward the interests of all citizens, special tact, and strict observance of socialist legality.

What do I see as a guarantee against relapses to the past? First and foremost, the creation of a socialist law-governed state, in which the law stands above all and is based on interests of the person. This is a sure guarantee that there will be no return to the past.

Biographical Pages. Khristoradnov was born in 1929 and is a Russian. He graduated from the All-Union Financial and Economic Correspondence Institute. He began his working life at the Gorkiy Automotive Plant, where he worked as a foreman, a section head, a deputy shop head, and secretary of the foundry party committee. In 1962 he took up party work in a rayon CPSU committee and the city CPSU committee. From 1974 to 1987 he served as First Secretary of the Gorkovskaya Oblast CPSU Committee. He was elected a Deputy to the Ninth through 12th USSR Supreme Soviets. In 1988 and 1989 he served as Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of the Union. He is a member of the CPSU Central Committee.

Table 1: Registration of Religious Congregations (by Soviet Resolutions)

	Number of Registered Congregations by Year					
	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	As of 9-20-1989
Russian Orthodox Church (RPTs)	2	3	10	16	809	2,039
Old Believer Churches	5	2	5	1	9	9
Georgian Orthodox Church (GPTs)	1	1	1	5	50	106
Armenian Apostolic Church	-	-	-	1	5	7
Catholic Church	4	3	3	6	39	116
Lutherans	12	10	4	9	10	6
Reformist Church	-	-	-	-	1	5
Methodists	-	-	-	-	1	-
Evangelical Christian-Baptists (EKHB)	19	24	17	24	46	44
Pentecostals	26	13	12	22	30	25
Seventh Day Adventists (ASD)	12	5	12	13	27	26

Table 1: Registration of Religious Congregations (by Soviet Resolutions) (Continued)

	Number of Registered Congregations by Year					
	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	As of 9-20-1989
Mennonites	7	1	1	-	-	-
Molokane	4	1	-	-	3	1
Moslems	7	2	2	7	34	202
Jews	-	-	-	-	4	7
Buddhists	-	-	-	-	1	2
Krishnas	-	-	-	-	1	1
USSR Total	99	65	67	104	1,070	2,596

Table 2: Construction, Purchase and Reequipping, and Transfer of Buildings For Worship Purposes

	Authorization Given					
	For New Construction		For Purchase and Reequipping		For Transfer of Vacant Church Buildings	
	1988	9-20-1989	1988	9-20-1989	1988	9-20-1989
RPTs	44	148	61	85	467	1,581
GPTs	-	-	-	-	50	105
Old Believer Churches	2	1	2	2	3	3
Armenian Apostolic Church	-	-	-	-	4	5
Catholic Church	6	9	10	6	13	74
Lutherans	-	1	3	2	-	-
Moslems	10	61	4	11	16	119
EKhB	23	27	50	36	-	2
Pentecostals	15	15	10	8	-	-
ASD	5	6	20	14	-	-
Mennonites	1	-	-	-	-	-
Jews	-	-	2	1	-	-
Reformist Church	-	-	-	-	1	-
Buddhists	-	-	-	-	-	2
Total	106	268	162	165	554	1,891

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Registration of Uniates Suspended90UN1275B Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian
21 Mar 90 p 4

[Article by N. Pugovitsa, SELSKAYA ZHIZN correspondent: "Search for a Compromise"]

[Text] The inter-religion situation in the western oblasts of the Ukraine has worsened in recent months. The first meeting of the quadrilateral joint commission on normalizing relations was held in Moscow in accordance with an agreement reached in January of this year between the delegations of the Roman Catholic Church and the Russian Orthodox Church to settle the situation peacefully.

At the meeting in Kiev at the synod of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, members of the Orthodox-Catholic commission adopted an appeal to the faithful of the western oblasts of the republic. It notes that the commission is guided by the recommendations of the Apostolic See and the Moscow Patriarchy on the urgent need to settle the situation in the temples seized by the Catholics of the eastern rite without concurrence of the Orthodox religious communities. It contains an appeal to the faithful and the clergy of both churches to refrain from actions that could complicate the inter-religion situation, especially actions that are accompanied by violence, not to use statements insulting the representatives of one or another confession and sowing animosity and misunderstanding, not to meddle in political problems, and not to hold mass demonstrations.

Representatives of the Holy See and the Moscow Patriarchy met with the deputy chairman of the Ukrainian

SSR Council of Ministers, M.A. Orlik, and the chairman of the Council on Religious Affairs under the republic's Council of Ministers, N.A. Kolesnik. It was emphasized that, according to the understanding reached by Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet M.S. Gorbachev and Pope John Paul II, the situation in the western Ukraine must be settled by the representatives of both churches. Only then will the authorities register the communities of Greek Catholics.

According to the results of the meeting, in a joint statement signed by Archbishop Miroslav Marusin, secretary of the Congregation of Eastern Churches and Metropolitan Voronezh and Lipetsk Mefodiy, it is noted that a number of important decisions were unanimously made and emphasizes that this meeting is just the beginning of the process to settle the relations between Orthodox and Greek Catholics, after which representatives of the two churches will begin studying unresolved problems. Before resolving unsettled issues, the members of the commission on behalf of their churches pledge to rule out any possibility of forced seizure of temples.

"The commission considers the work conducted to be very useful and believes that it will bring peace and benefit for all believers and for all the Ukrainian people," Archbishop Miroslav Marusin said in an interview.

Baptists Appeal for Peace Between Azeris, Armenians

90UN1032A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
31 Jan 90 p 3

[Report by RATAU: "Appeal to Reason"]

[Text] "Our Dear Brothers, Azeris and Armenians: Stop in your path and seek and inquire after the ancient way, where the path is good: follow it and you will find peace in your souls." This appeal to the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia was signed by the delegates of the 21st Congress of the Evangelical Baptist Brotherhood of the Ukraine, which took place in Kiev on January 25-27. "This path is a path of love, forgiveness and mutual support," stated the appeal. "Not confrontation with one another, but a dialogue and calm, reasoned resolution of all interethnic and other disputes will benefit your peoples. All nations of the world are members of the single human family. In the name of our children and grandchildren, extend a conciliatory hand to one another!"

Ya.K. Dukhonchenko, head presbyter of the Union of Evangelical Baptists in the Ukraine, read the appeal at the press conference that took place on January 29 at the Republic Council of the EKHB [Evangelical Baptist Brotherhood]. He also said that the delegates of the congress called on believers to pray on February 3 in all churches of the Ukraine for reconciliation between the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia. The head presbyter also spoke about the work of the congress and its decisions. The process of renewal underway in this

country has opened new opportunities for action for the EKHB of the Ukraine. Today, the EKHB union includes over 1,000 communities. Their participation in various charitable activities and funds has grown. In the past five years alone, volunteer charitable contributions of the churches members of the EKHB of the Ukraine amounted to R1.6 million.

Baptist Congress Held in Moscow

90UN1032B Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 Feb 90 p 6

[Article by G.Charodeyev: "Congress of Evangelical Baptists"]

[Text] **The 44th All-Union Congress of Evangelical Baptists opened in Moscow.**

Over 700 delegates and 250 visitors from the many countries of the world where this religious is practiced came to the congress. The way to Moscow was longest for Noel Bouz, president of the World Baptist Union, who came from Australia. Besides him, the honorary presidium included Aleksey Bychkov, secretary general of the All-Union Council of Evangelical Baptists in the USSR, and Knud Wumpelman, who will replace Noel Bouz as president next July. After the congress was declared open, a general prayer was conducted and a major concert of spiritual music took place. The congress will go on for five days.

Independent Georgian Church Declared

90UN1294A Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
8 Mar 90 p 3

[Editorial: "Independence of Georgian Orthodox Church Recognized"]

[Text] **Istanbul. A solemn ceremony of recognizing the independence of the Georgian Orthodox Church and the patriarchal virtues of its head took place on Sunday at the residence of the Ecumenical Constantinople Patriarchy.**

The official decision on this was made on 23 January of this year at a session of the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Constantinople Church. On 4 March, an orthodox holiday, the head of the Georgian Church was presented the appropriate ecclesiastical documents. That same day, a liturgy was held at a Greek church cathedral on occasion of this momentous event, at which the head of the Ecumenical Constantinople Orthodox Church, Dmitrios I, and the the head of the Georgian Orthodox Church, Catholicos Patriarch of all of Georgia Iliya II, delivered messages to the faithful.

In an interview with a TASS correspondent, Iliya II said: "We have been negotiating with the Constantinople Patriarchy on these matters for 15 years. The fraternal ties and mutual understanding of the two churches have led to a favorable outcome. This momentous event creates a good foundation for further cooperation of the orthodox churches. Religious figures can and must do

much for the sake of calm, peace, and mutual understanding between different peoples and religions. The perestroika which is being implemented in our country is also a spiritual problem because, in our view, it is also necessary to change inwardly. This will be a stimulus for perestroika in the economic and social spheres."

Soviet Union As 'Mass Atheist Society' Reassessed

90UN0844A Moscow *NAUKA I RELIGIYA* in Russian
No 1, Jan 90 pp 34-35

[Article by Ye. Kublitskaya, candidate of philosophy: "The 'Mass Atheist Society' Through A Sociologist's Eyes"]

[Text] So many illusions and stereotypes concerning various aspects of our reality have been destroyed recently that my attempt to clarify certain entrenched assessments of Soviet religious scholarship might seem to be yet another fashionable attack on the part of a critical-minded scholar. Nevertheless, I will take this step because the actual religious situation in the country continues to be obscured by ideological cliches from the period of stagnation that depict religion as a rudiment of spiritual culture that atheism has pushed back to the fringes of society.

Nor is it difficult to overcome this opposing world outlook. It is not difficult to present its fate in the foreseeable future as one of certain extinction. This is perhaps the reason we haven't tried to conduct a more in-depth analysis of the phenomenon of religiousness under socialism and still lack a single comprehensive program for studying it with sociological methods. True, sociological studies based on fairly literate methodologies have been conducted on these problems, but given

the lack of an overall information center, the empirical data obtained has not been generalized or systematized. Moreover, every time the empirical data failed to fit with ideological cliches and threatened to cloud the optimistic picture of the victorious march of atheism, they were resolutely consigned to the trashbins of the agencies that conducted them or tucked away in safes. The realities of life that were revealed functioned as a luxury item only among a select few.

The fate of the results of studies conducted by this author were no exception in this respect. For a number of years, we studied the specific aspects of the process of secularization—the freeing of the masses' thinking from the influence of religion and the establishment of an atheist world outlook—in a number of the country's oblasts and republics.

The USSR Academy of Sciences' Sociological Institute conducted sociological studies among the employed population of the Tajik SSR (1984, 1988), the North Osetian Autonomous SSR (1983, 1988), Lvovskaya Oblast, Ukraine SSR (1988, 1989), and Kemerovskaya Oblast, RSFSR (1988), which is to say in regions with varying social-cultural and religious characteristics. The studies, which were conducted concurrently, used the same set of methodologies, and took specific features of various faiths into consideration, provide a basis for a comparative analysis of the religious situation in the areas studied.

Table No 1 presents the ratio of the religious and nonreligious population. On looking at the data, even the most unsophisticated reader might say, "What kind of mass atheist society is this, when in at least two of the oblasts studied, the religious population constitutes a majority or at least a sizable segment?"

Table No 1: Correlation of Religious to Nonreligious Population in 1988

Typological Groups	Tajik SSR	Lvovskaya Oblast, Ukrainian SSR	North Osetian ASSR	Kemerovskaya Oblast, RSFSR
Believers	13	34	21	2
Wavering	32	36	18	21
Religious Population (Level of Religiousness)	45	70	39	23
Indifferent (Indifferent to Religion and Atheism)	25	14	23	49
Nonbelievers	17	9	30	20
Staunch Atheists	13	7	8	8
Nonreligious Population	55	30	61	77

*Level of religiousness (religious population) is calculated as the total of believers and those wavering between belief and disbelief.

Of course, a characterization of our society as a "mass atheist society" is highly problematical, but nor do we have sufficient grounds to make any other determination as yet. For the regions differ substantially from one another in terms of level of religiousness of the employed population. For example, in Kemerovskaya Oblast this index is only a

third of that for Lvovskaya Oblast (the religious population of Kemerovskaya Oblast is 23 percent, and of Lvovskaya Oblast, 70 percent). For this reason, the use of average data when the percentage difference is so great is not only wrong but also produces a distortion in the actual picture of the religious situation.

Let us note that the proportion of "staunch atheists" does not exceed, as a rule, one-tenth of the total employed population in each region. Even regions where the nonreligious population is a majority (the North Osetian ASSR—61 percent, Kemerovskaya Oblast—77 percent) cannot be called atheist, since the number of atheists in them does not exceed 8 percent. It is more appropriate to characterize the population of these regions as "predominately nonreligious."

The second stereotype that runs through many Soviet studies on religion is this: "The level of religiousness in the country is falling year after year, the level of observance of religious customs is declining, and the number of operating churches, Catholic churches, and so on, is

falling, which is to say that the pace of secularization is quickening." One hardly need return here to the way in which the number of operating churches has decreased. This is common knowledge today. But nor there are any grounds, apparently, to say that the level of religious activity is increasing, since, for example, public participation in religious festivals is starting to take on a mass character. But this fact still doesn't tell us anything, since not only the religious but also the nonreligious population takes part in them. And the reasons for participation vary.

As for the dynamics of the level of religiousness, do the sociological data confirm a decline in the religiousness of the population in these regions in recent years? Let us turn to Table No 2.

Table 2

	Tajik SSR		North Osetian ASSR		Lvovskaya Oblast, Ukrainian SSR	
	1984	1988	1983	1988	1988	1989
Religious Population in %	42	45	23	39	70	77

As we see, the assertion that religiousness has declined in recent years is at odds with reality. In the past five years, the religious population of the North Osetian ASSR increased by 16 percent; in the past four years, the religious population in the Tajik SSR grew by 3 percent. Of course, democratization has made it possible not to conceal one's convictions, including one's religious convictions. However, this is apparently not the only primary reason for the increase found. First, such sociological surveys have always been conducted anonymously, and second, the sociological data for Lvovskaya Oblast demonstrated the dynamics of growth of religiousness among the population (even over one year!), despite the fact that both sociological studies were conducted during the period of perestroika. This question requires study in the context of research into the overall state of public consciousness.

A third axiom of religion studies theorists that raises doubts is the direct dependence of the level of religiousness on such social parameters as sex, age, and social and occupation group. It used to be thought that as a result of

various social factors, religiousness among women was higher than among men; that workers and peasants were the members of the religious intelligentsia; and, finally, that the level of religiousness was higher among older people than among the young. At the same time, such population characteristics as a high level of education and overall culture were viewed as a guarantee of faster rates of atheization of the population.

However, the data obtained show that an unambiguous direct dependence between religiousness and the aforementioned social parameters is absent. The correlation is of a much more complex and contradictory nature. Whereas the traditional link between sex and level of religiousness is recorded in the North Osetian ASSR; Kemerovskaya Oblast, RSFSR; and Lvovskaya Oblast, Ukraine SSR, no such link is to be observed in the Tajik SSR. In that region, the number of believers among men was 5 percent higher than among women.

Unexpected results were obtained from an analysis of the age groups of the employed population (see Table No 3).

Table 3: Proportion of Religious Population By Age Group In Regions Studied In %

Age In Years	Kemerovskaya Oblast, RSFSR	Tajik SSR	Lvovskaya Oblast, Ukrainian SSR
16-29	26	50	86
30-39	24	38	70
40-49	27	39	61
50-59	15	45	52

These data offer no grounds to assert that religiousness is a characteristic peculiar primarily to the older generation. The case is sooner the opposite. Among Soviet working young people (under the age of 30), religious views and beliefs are more widespread today than in other age groups (at least that is the situation in the regions studied). This tendency is most pronounced in

Lvovskaya Oblast, where young people under 30, in terms of religiousness, have surpassed people in the 50 to 59 age group by 34 percent. The relatively broad spread of religion among young people undoubtedly contradicts the opinion of those scholars who for many years tried to convince us that religious congregations were "aging."

This contradiction must be conceptualized. And once again, in the context of broader studies of spiritual life among young people.

A curious situation also obtains in studying the attitudes of various social and occupational groups toward religion and atheism. It turned out that generally recognized "leaders" in terms of religiousness—workers and collective farmers—are such leaders only in certain regions. In the Tajik SSR, for example, the highest level of religiousness was found among collective farmers, and in Lvovskaya Oblast, among industrial enterprise workers. However, in the North Osetian ASSR and Kemerovskaya Oblast, they have serious competition from white-collar employees. [sluzhashchiye].

A little more detail about the social and occupational group that in all the regional studies was least subject to religiousness—the intelligentsia (primarily doctors, teachers, and scientific workers). Sociological studies conducted at a number of research institutes in Moscow in 1986-1988 showed that, indeed, traditional religious views are not widespread among scientific workers. In our studies, however, we took into account the adherents of not just traditional but also nontraditional religious teachings. For example, at one research institute, 17 percent of the associates were adherents of traditional religions and 5 percent professed nontraditional faiths. The overall level of religiousness was 22 percent. Nearly 26 percent of all scientific associates share some concepts of nontraditional religious teachings. In order to obtain more accurate information on the religious situation, it would make sense to take into account, in formulating methodologies, the interest of some members of the intelligentsia and young people in nontraditional religious teachings.

The aforementioned findings can be termed an "inexplicable" phenomenon in that they contradict the conception of a "mass atheist society." Indeed, theoretical thinking, which retains a dogmatic orientation, as a rule, is not prepared to analyze such facts. But as our progressive researchers of religion have pointed out, now is the time when we need new approaches to the formulation of scientific atheism theory, and in particular to a rethinking of the historical development of secularization and its distinctive features in our society.

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Academy of Sciences Polls Atheists, Believers

90UN0917A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 6, 10-16 Feb 90 p 5

[Article by S.Yakovlev, study director, I.Polulyakh, V.Lokosov, V.Medvedeva and P.Olovyannikov: "What Should the Church Be Like: According to Some Estimates, There Are Up to 90 Million Believers in the USSR"]

[Text] The sector of sociology, religion and atheism of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociology,

together with the journal *NAUKA I RELIGIYA*, conducted a sociological poll among religious experts on the subject "Special Features of the Relationship Between State and Church under Perestroika".

The poll covered 64 atheists drawn from among scholars of religion, teachers of scientific atheism, "Znanye" lecturers, employees of the Council on Religious Affairs, et al.; and 64 believers, drawn from among clerics, church elders, church employees, etc.

Respondents among atheists believe that:

- the wording of Article 52 of the USSR Constitution on freedom of consciousness is unsatisfactory (66 percent of respondents): "It mentions the guarantee to conduct religious services and atheist propaganda, but says nothing about the equal right to engage in religious propaganda," and that "freedom of consciousness is a more important value than the choice between religion and atheism";
- the VTsIK [All-Russian Central Executive Committee] and RSFSR SNK [Soviet of People's Commissars] resolution "On Religious Societies" dated April 8, 1929, and amended in 1975 should be rescinded as "oppressive and contradicting Lenin's Decree" (18 percent), and that religious organization should be given the status of corporations;
- until recently, the principles of social justice were being violated with respect to believers (56 percent). It was manifested in higher charges on religious organizations for municipal services (12 percent), discrimination against believers by enterprise managers, refusal to reward believers for hard work (refusal to award them orders and medals) and for having large families (refusal to award them the "Hero Mother" order), unwarranted dismissals and refusal to hire or send them on business trips abroad, to provide social benefits such as trips to sanatoria and young pioneers' camps, to improve housing and to provide deficit goods (44 percent). Believers practically have no chance of getting higher education in ideology-related humanities (10 percent); there is an effective "ban" on believers in certain professions and they are barred from management posts at higher levels (7 percent);
- citizens whose religious beliefs forbid them to take up arms should be allowed to serve in an "alternative service" (74 percent supported this suggestion and 18 percent rejected it);
- religious organizations should be allowed to have their own mass media organs (68 percent said yes, and 26 percent no). Some respondents felt that religious organizations should have access to the state media;
- atheist propaganda must be radically restructured (90 percent), we need to reject "straightforward atheism" and engage in an objective analysis of the role of the Church in the history of state and society (46 percent). Some 48 percent also thought that atheist propaganda

must by the private affair of nonbelievers, be put on a volunteer basis and the state should stop financing it; 49 percent rejected this view;

- private religious education of children should be permitted (73 percent); in particular, Sunday schools should be opened at temples, as well as children's summer camps (not supported by the state), teaching the basics of religion. At the same time, 8 percent of atheists doubted the need for religious education: "In our democratic zeal we forget that in the Soviet state, where the communist party is the leader, the work of disseminating materialist thinking must be organized."

The following are the opinions of believers, 53 of whom represented conventional creeds—Russian Orthodox, Baptists, Adventists and Jews—and 11 nontraditional ones—Hari Krishnas and Quakers. They think that:

- the wording of Article 52 of the USSR Constitution restricts the rights of believers (75 percent of representatives of traditional religions and 100 percent of those of nontraditional ones supported this view): "The neutrality of the state must be ensured not only with respect to believers and atheists, but also with respect to religious and atheist propaganda". Some nontraditional experts thought that the principle of separation of church and state should be abolished, since the church in the USSR is fully co-opted into the state structure and has no influence on government policy;
- the existing law on religious cults must be reviewed radically, since it was drafted at the time of repressions and contradicts the spirit of the times and the norms of international law (the view of 55 percent of traditionalists and 73 percent of nontraditionalists.) Other experts had no opinion on this subject since they had no access to the exact text of the law on religious cults;
- some believers thought that the USSR Council of Ministers Committee on Religious Affairs should be abolished, since "in a true law-based state relations between church and state must be regulated by law and not by an entity, and instead a Commission on Religious Affairs should be established at the USSR Supreme Soviet, to be comprised of representatives of believers and atheists, whose function would be to supervise the implementation of the Law on Freedom of Consciousness;
- true equality of creeds does not exist, with the Russian Orthodox Church and Islam being privileged: "They are not only controlled by the authorities but are also co-opted by the state apparatus"; 28 percent of traditional and 100 percent of nontraditional believers said yes, and 42 percent of traditional believers said no;
- principles of social justice are violated with respect to believers (75 percent of traditional and 100 percent of nontraditional believers); taxes on the income of

clerics are too high ("the tax amounts to half of income, if not more") and the salaries plus pensions of retirees working for the church are capped at R150 per month compared to R300 per month at state enterprises;

- registration of new religious communities must be in the form of notification, not application for permission;
- the state refuses to recognize religious holidays;
- councils on religious affairs suppress social initiative of religious organizations and "force them to provide 'voluntary' contributions to the Peace Fund and other funds";
- adherents to some creeds must be allowed "alternative service" (57 percent of traditional and 91 percent of nontraditional believers agreed and 26 percent of traditional believers disagreed with this statement), in particular in agriculture, homes for aged and disabled, orphanages and hospitals, for a period of up to four years;
- atheist propaganda must be conducted strictly on a scientific basis and not as a political campaign (60 percent of traditional and 40 percent of nontraditional believers), must be stripped of state support and carry on with voluntary contributions from private individuals and interested public organizations (20 percent of traditional and 73 percent of nontraditional believers);
- religious organizations under perestroika may act as a unifying force in society by actively preaching human values (70 percent of traditional and 100 percent of nontraditional believers), and by participating in the charity movement and propaganda of the healthy way of life (28 percent and 18 percent, respectively).

People's Deputy Candidate Metropolitan of Odessa Dies

90UN1088A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
9 Feb 90 p 4

[Report from RATAU: "The Death of Metropolitan Sergiy"]

[Text] On 7 February the believers and public of Odessa laid to rest one of the foremost hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church, Metropolitan of Odessa and Kherson Sergiy, who simultaneously directed the Voroshiovgradsko-Donetsk Eparchy. During the preparations for the celebration of the 1000 years since the introduction of Christianity to Rus, he was deputy chairman of the jubilee commission. Metropolitan Sergiy was a permanent member of the Holy Synod.

In the current electoral campaign, the Odessa Oblast Peace Committee nominated Metropolitan Sergiy as a candidate for people's deputy of the Ukrainian SSR. He was awarded the order of Friendship Among Nations

and an Honorable Deed of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR and was conferred the highest honors of the Russian Orthodox Church.

The funeral was held at the cemetery of the Svyato-Uspenskiy Monastery in Odessa.

Clergy Involvement in Political Life Viewed

90UN1088B Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 2 Mar 90 p 3

[Interview with Archpriest Aleksandr: "'For the Good of the Church and the People'"]

[Text] The current electoral campaign in Russia has for the first time given citizens of the republic the real right to nominate clergymen for deputy to the supreme organ of power, and the voters have exercised it: ten clergymen have registered their candidacy for this new function. The interests of believers are represented in the Central Election Commission by Archpriest Aleksandr, superior of the Troitskiy Church in Lyubertsy and rural dean of the churches of the Ramenskiy Okrug, Moskovskaya Oblast. We shall give him the floor.

[Aleksandr] As we know, four representatives of the Russian church have been elected people's deputies of the USSR. Last year the Russian church marked 400 years since the institution of the patriarchate in Rus', and on that occasion the Episcopal Council, which wields legislative power in the church, was convoked. Once again they discussed the question of the church's attitude toward the possibility of its clergymen participating in the elective organs of state power. And in the 17th point of its determinations, the Council took the following decision: "In view of the expanding opportunities for representatives of the clergy to be elected to organs of state power, the Council has devoted a great deal of attention to examining two issues: First, how far may the church go toward taking responsibility for political decisions without putting its pastoral authority into question; and second, can the church rightly refuse to participate in lawmaking and reject the opportunity to exert a moral influence on the political process when taking a decision can determine the fate of the country? As a result of our discussion, we were unanimous in recognizing the corresponding resolution of the Holy Synod of 27 December 1988, which concerned only the past electoral campaign.

The issue of whether or not it makes sense for the episcopate and the clergy to participate in the elected organs of power must be decided in each concrete instance by church superiors: by the Holy Synod for bishops and by the ruling episcopate for the clergy. Consent for such participation must precede the electoral campaign.

We must remember that apart from the general civil legislation whereby the life of the whole society is regulated, there exists internal church legislation, called canonical law. The relationship between the church and

the outside world, its attitude to various events, is built on this canonical law. According to the canons of the Holy Church, a church figure does not have the right to participate in political struggle because political struggle is, in the final analysis, the art of compromise. According to these church laws a clergyman does not have the right to hold a government position and participate in the governing of society.

Exceptions are made at the will of the church, for the good of the church, society, and the people.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] What reasons are provoking the church today to making these exceptions?

[Aleksandr] My personal opinion is that the present situation of development of social relations in our country requires that the millions of believers be able to express their difficulties and problems, their needs and hopes, so that they become known to society as a whole. In the given instance, deputy-clergymen can do this in the best possible way. Our country, having signed the Vienna accords, thereby took upon itself the responsibilities for realizing citizens' right to freedom of conscience. We know that right now a law about freedom of conscience is being drafted and prepared for passage. And it is natural that people delegated by the church to inform our society about the needs of the church and believers be represented in the highest government organ of Russia.

Regardless of what worldview a voter has, when he comes to the ballot box and sees a man wearing a cassock and a cross among the candidates for the deputy mandate, he's going to determine his attitude toward the given candidate based on the fact that that person represents not himself personally but the church. Therefore the clergyman's responsibility, both for his platform as well as for the actions he proposes to undertake as a government figure, is heightened many times over.

I will cite the real-life example of the Moskovskiy Eparchy, whose clergyman I am. I know that the Metropolitan of Krutitskiy and Kolomenskiy Yuvenaliyas, who runs our episcopate, in response to personal appeals, gave his consent to about 10 clerics to participate in elections for soviets of various levels. Also, according to information I received from the offices of the Moskovskiy Eparchy administration, consent was not given to three clergymen to stand for election. Inasmuch as I know, two of them acted as they are expected to in the church: they acquiesced to their bishop. But one of them, Priest Gleb Yakunin, ignored the bishop's word.

On 5 December 1989, at a meeting of the entire clergy of the Moskovskiy Eparchy of about 800 people, speaking about his intention to stand as a candidate for people's deputy, Yakunin announced that he wasn't even going to lay out his election platform before his brother clergymen because he intended to run for election not as a clergyman but as a citizen. That position seemed strange to the assembly, so it unanimously agreed that it would

not be good for Father Gleb to participate in the electoral campaign as a candidate for deputy.

In a resolution of 6 December 1989, the Metropolitan of Krutitskiy and Kolomenskiy Yuvenaliyas on the petition of Priest G. Yakunin, stated: "In accordance with the position of the clergy expressed at the eparchal assembly of 5 December 1989, Priest Gleb Yakunin does not have our blessing to run for people's deputy." However, despite the fact that he had neither the support of churchgoing opinion in the oblast as a whole nor the consent of his own immediate church supervisor, Priest Gleb Yakunin gave his consent on the basis of state law and registered in the 2nd Shchelkovskiy National-territorial Okrug.

What is especially deplorable is that Gleb Yakunin, in begging permission to stand for election, promised in an

official announcement of 23 November, "not to make any speeches or announcements in the name of the Russian Orthodox Church." But the reality was different.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] Voters might wonder why Father Gleb isn't suffering for his convictions?

[Aleksandr] It would have been justified to ask that question just three years ago. But it is at the very least strange to think that way now, when at the eparchal assembly, where each of the priests could speak freely on any question, not one person supported Father Gleb in his political aspirations. On the contrary, many expressed their apprehension with respect to the true churchly spirit of such activity. At the assembly he received no support whatsoever.

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